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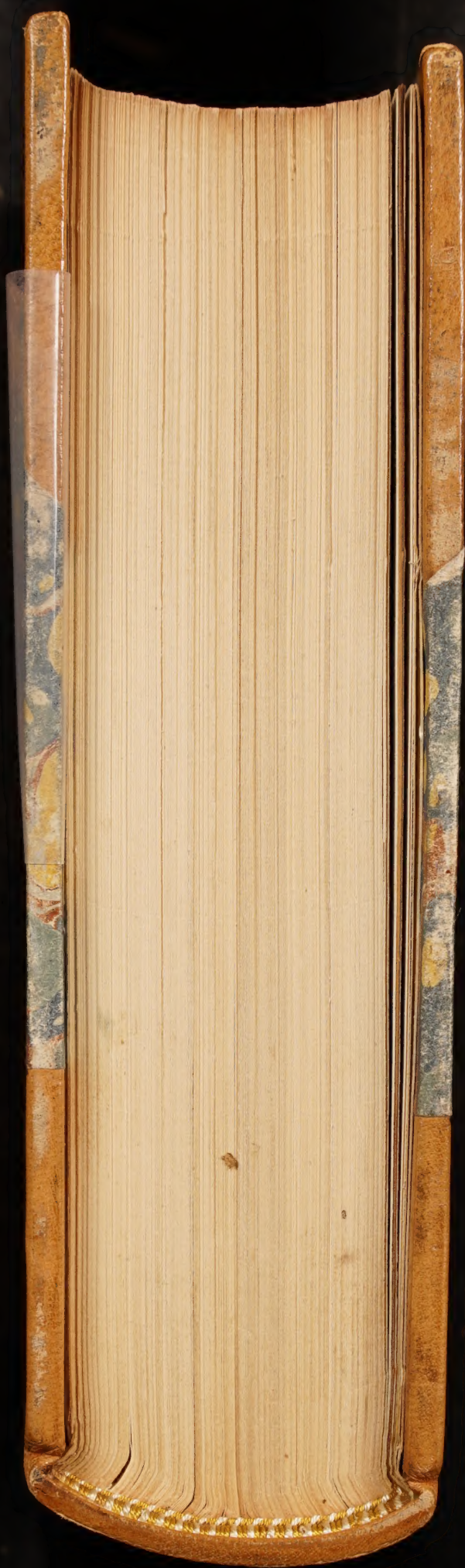
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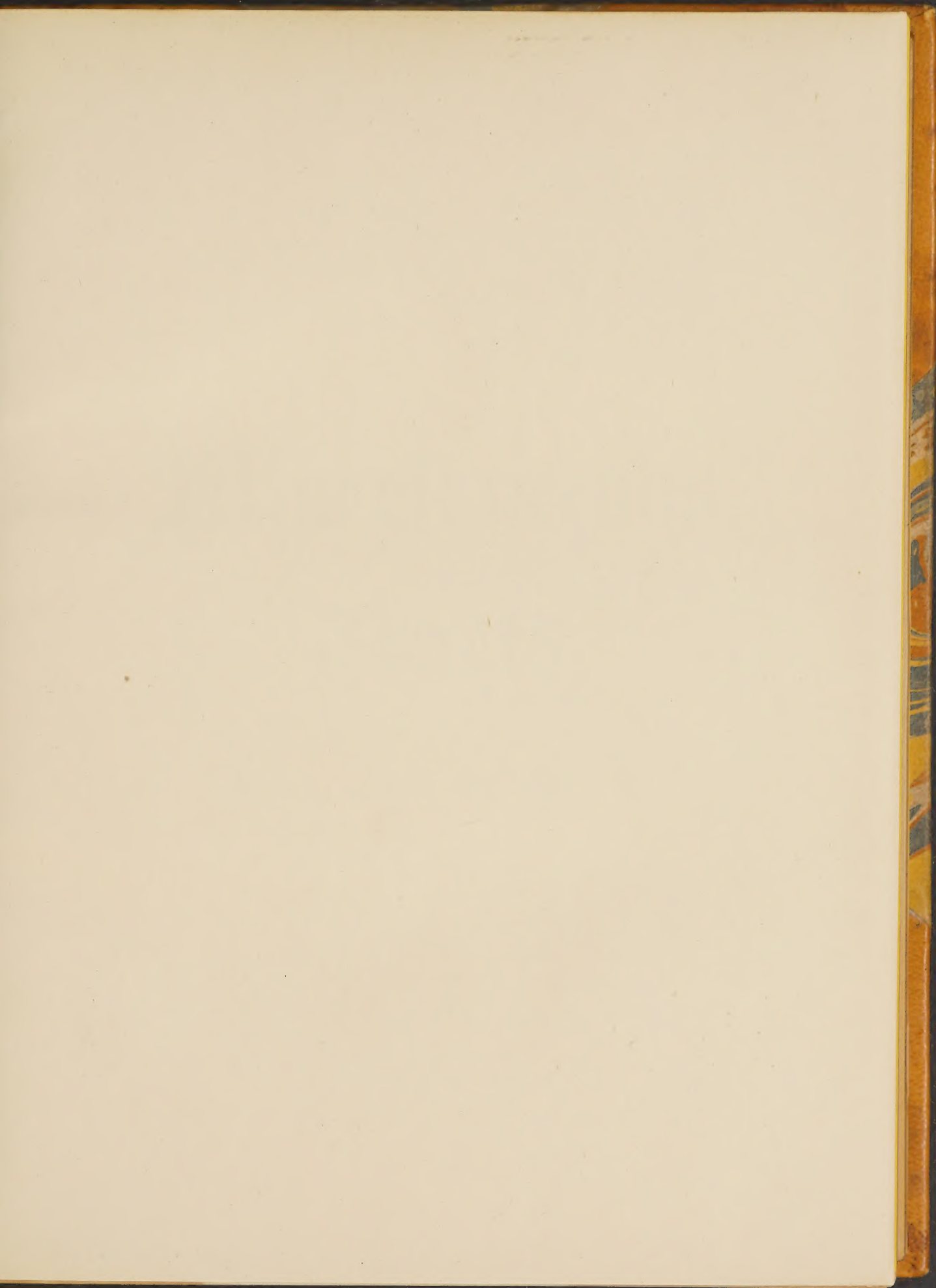


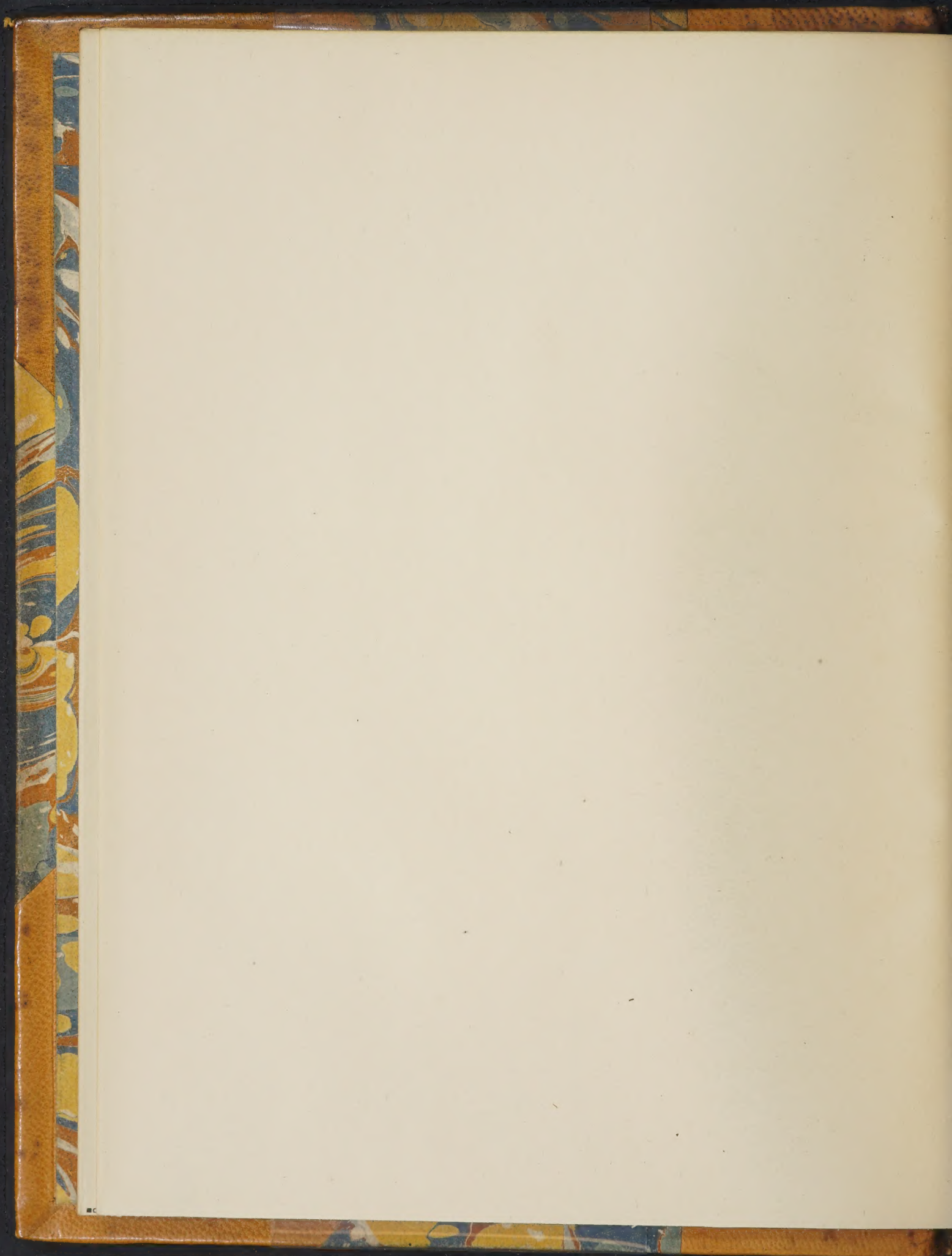






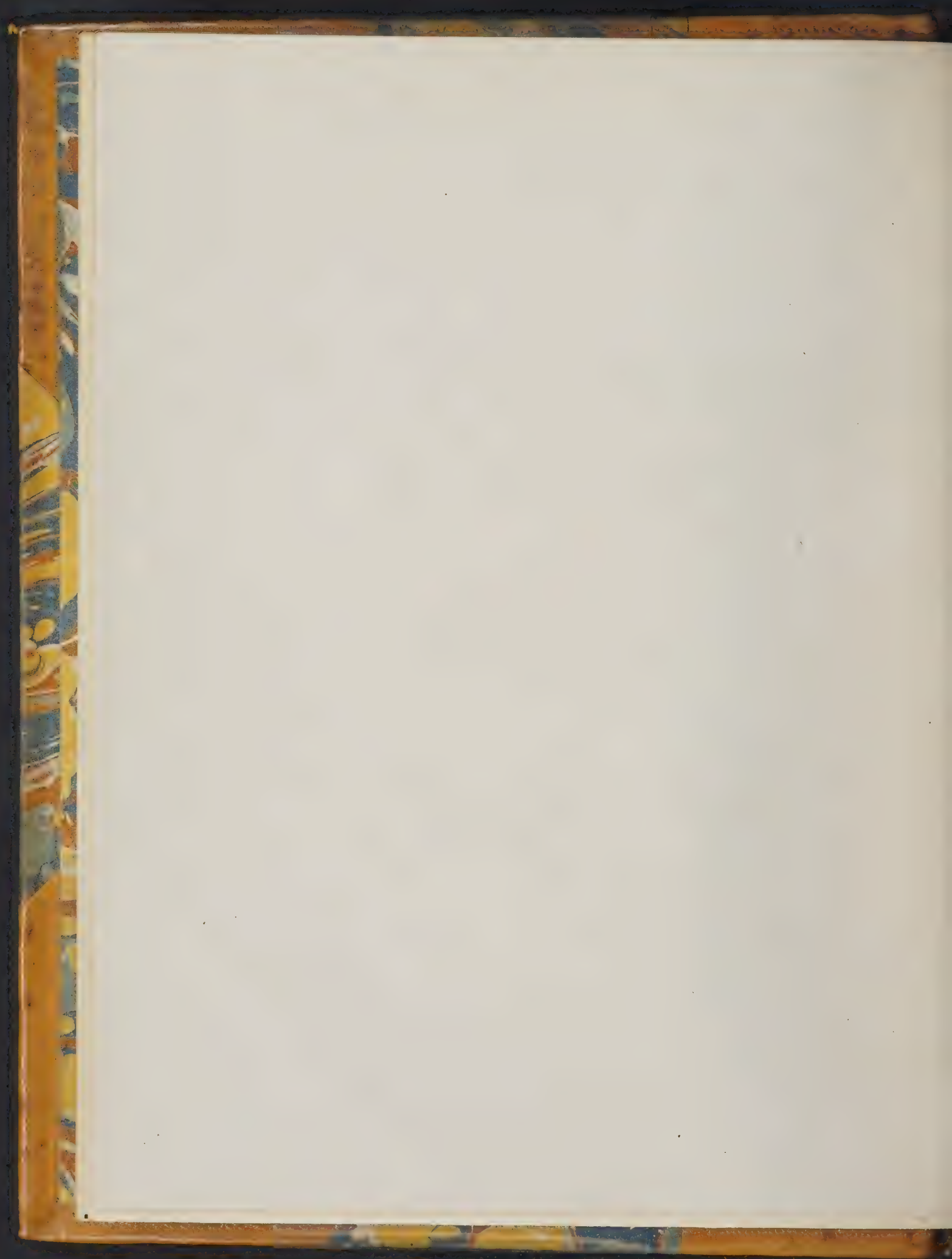






Miscellaneous
Tracts

TEMP. ELIZ. & JAC. I.



ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

Early English Literature.

EDITED BY

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

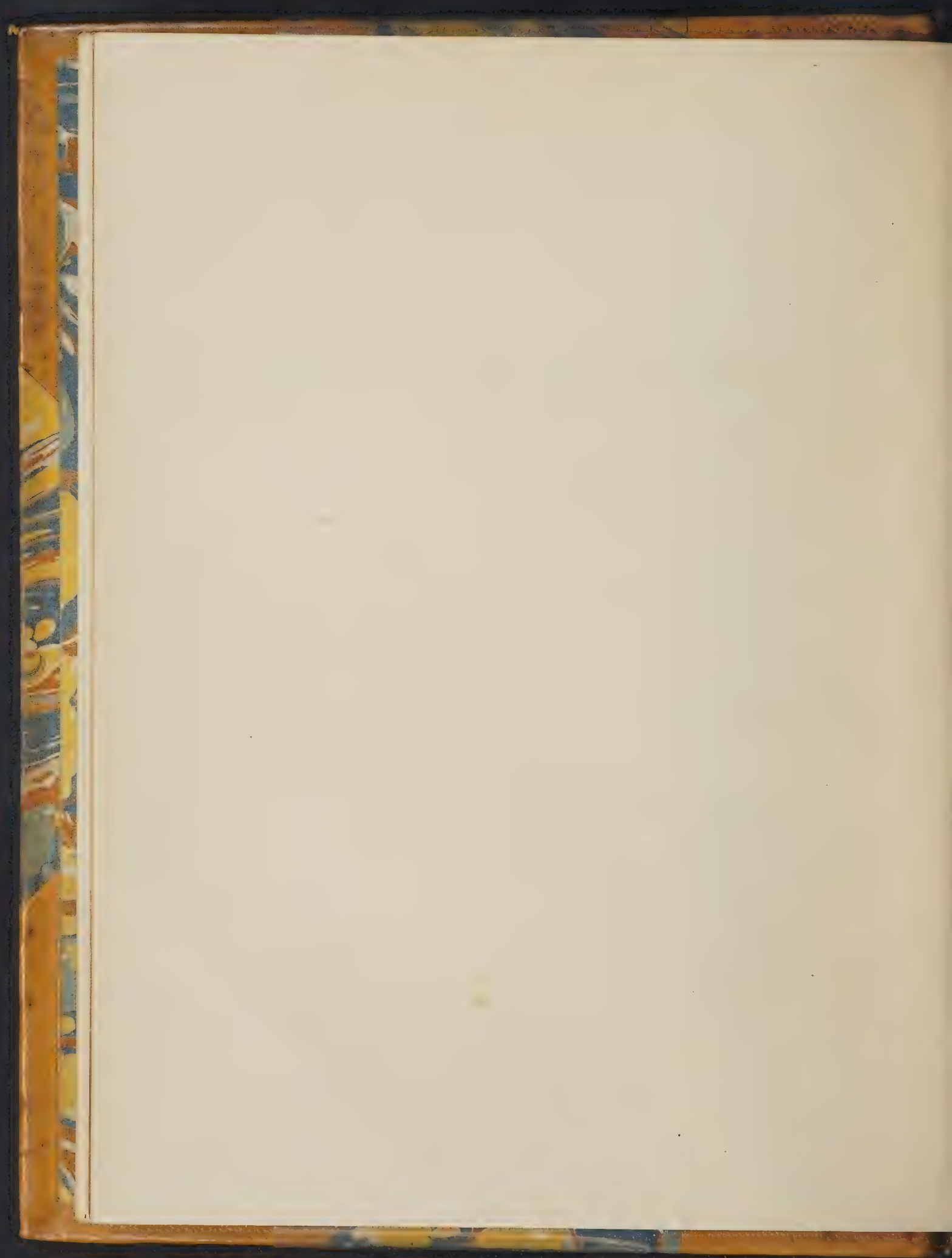
VOL. I.



LONDON :

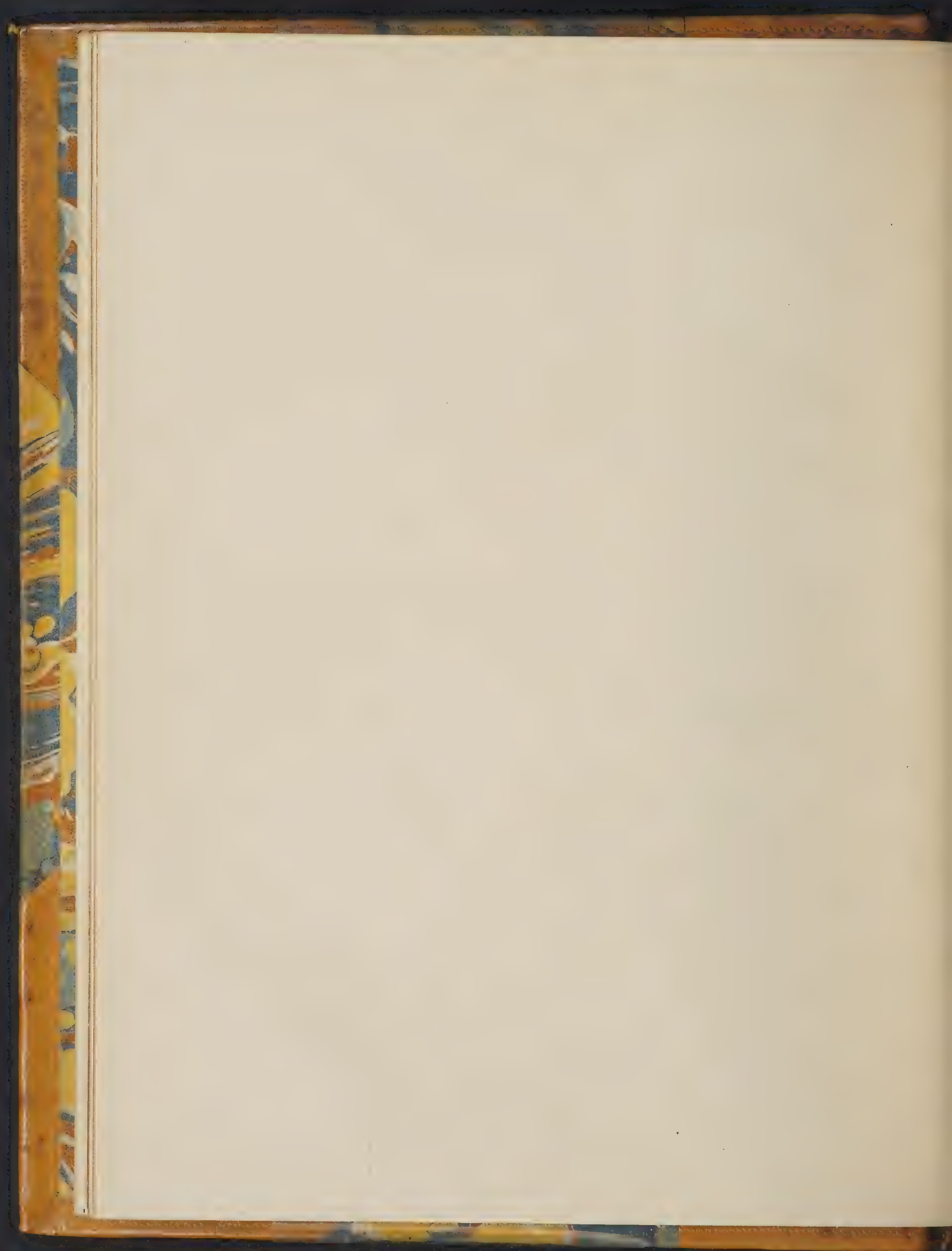
PRIVATELY PRINTED.

1867-70.



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1. THE ANATOMIE OF ABUSES, by PHILLIP STUBBES. 1583.
2. PERIMEDES THE BLACK-SMITH, by ROBERT GREENE. 1588.
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4. A QVIP FOR AN VPSTART COURTIER, by ROBERT GREENE. 1592.
5. FOURE LETTERS AND CERTAINE SONNETS, by GABRIEL HARVEY. 1592.



THE ANATOMIE OF ABUSES:

contayning

A Discoverie, or briefe Summarie, of
such Notable Vices and Imperfections, as now
raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the
Worlde, but (especiallie) in a verie famous Ilande called
Ailgna: Together with most fearefull Examples of
Gods Judgementes, executed upon the wicked for the
same, aswell in Ailgna of late, as in other places else-
where.

*Verie godly to be read of all true Christians
everie where, but most needefull to be regarded
in Englande.*

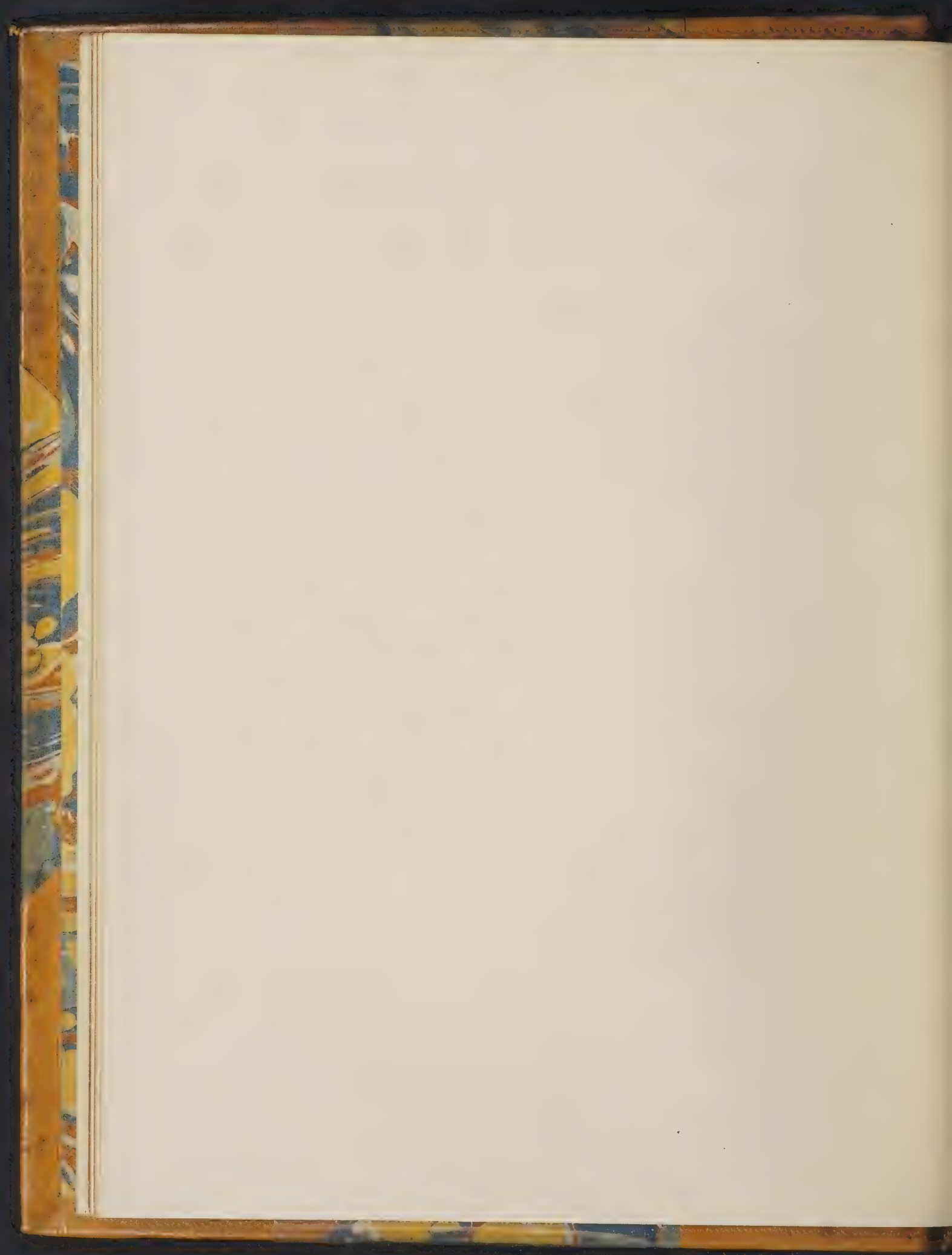
Made dialogue-wise by PHILLIP STUBBES.

Seene and allowed, according to order.

Math. 3, ver. 2. Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

Luc. 13, ver. 5. I say unto you (faith Christ) except you repent,
you shall all perish.

Printed at London, by Richard
Jones. 1. Maij. 1583.



INTRODUCTION.

WE have here exactly reproduced the first edition of perhaps the most celebrated puritanical work of the reign of Elizabeth: only two copies of that impression are known, and one of those, we believe, is not quite complete. It came to a second, and altogether different, impression in the middle of August, after its earliest appearance in May; but as in vol. ii, p. 393, of a "Bibliographical Account," &c., a full statement is given of the particulars belonging to the several editions of the "Anatomy of Abuses," it is hardly necessary to repeat it here.

There is no work in our language, or, perhaps, in any language, that gives so minute, and so amusing a view of the manners of all classes at the period when it was published. In 1836 a reprint was issued at Edinburgh of the *fifth* edition of 1585 (mis-called on the title-page the *third*), which is valuable not only for its general accuracy, but as it proves the number and character of the additions made by Stubbes in the course of the two years between May 1583 and October 1585: our first edition is, however, a curiosity from its rarity, and on account of the remarkable passages, and even chapters, it contains, which the author thought fit first to insert, and afterwards to exclude.

We hear of Stubbes as a writer only between 1580 and 1593;

and we may presume, from various circumstances, that he was carried off by the plague, which raged in 1592, and did not abate until the winter of the succeeding year: he had then returned to London, after a journey he had made into the country, some particulars of which he lived to publish in a unique volume, called "A Motive to Good Works," now before us.

We have been so desirous of preserving every word and letter of the original edition of "The Anatomy of Abuses," that we have even inserted the Author's list of *errata*, as it stands in a peculiar form upon his last page. We have not even altered the original references, and in a few instances we have given the trifling mistakes to which they refer, leaving the reader to deal with them as he thinks proper. Our reprint is literally a reproduction.

J. P. C.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, PHILLIP

Earle of Arundell : Phillip Stubbes wisheth
helth of body & foule, favour of God, in-
crease of Godly honour, reward of laudable
vertue, and eternall felicitie in the
Heavens, by Jesus Christ.

Nobilitas Patriæ Decus.

THE Lord our God (right honorable) having by the power of his word, created Heaven and Earth, with all thinges what soever, for the comfort and use of Man, the last of all other (even the sixt daye) made Man, after his owne similitude and likenesse, that in him he might be glorified above all other creatures. And therefore, wheras in making of other thinges he used onely this woord, *Fiant*, be they made or let them be made, when he came to make Man, as it weare advysing himselfe and asking counsell at his wisdom, he said *Faciamus Hominem*, let us make Man; that is, a wonderful creature: and therefore is called in greek *Microcosmos*, a litle world in himself. And truely he is no lesse, whether we consider his spirituall foule, or his humane body. For what creature is there uppon the face of the earth comparable to man, either in body or in mind? what creature hath a foule immortall inherent in his body, but onely Man? what creature can foresee things to come, remember things past, or judg of things present, but onely man? what creature beareth the ymage of God about him, but man? what creature is made so erect to

behold the heavens as man? what creature may be likened to man, either in proportion of body, or gifts of the soule? And (finally) what creature hath the promise of the resurrection and glorification of their bodies, and of eternall life, but onely man? Than, seeing the Lorde hath made man thus glorious, and preferred him in every degree before al other creatures (the angelicall creatures set a part) it is manifest he hath done it to some end and purpose, namely, that he might be glorified in him, and by him above all other his works, according to the measure of his integritie, excellency and perfection. And hereby we may learn that it is the will of God, that we bend all our force to the advauncing of his glorious name, the edification of his people, and the building up of his Church, which he hath redemed with the bloud of his deare Sonne.

Which thing (mee think) is notably figured foorth unto us in the 25 of Exodus, wher the Lord commaunded Moyfes to build him a tabernacle, or howse of prayer, to this end and purpose (doubtles) that therin his lawe might be read, his ceremonies practised, sacrifices, victimates and holocaustes offred, and his glorious name called uppon and obeyed. To the erection wherof every one conferred some what, some bringing gold, some silver and some brasse, lead and tinne; other brought filk, purple, skarlet, and other ornaments, and the meanest brought some what; namely, skins, heare and lyme, mortar, wood, stone, and such like. Even so (right honorable) would the Lord have every one to conferre some what, even such as he hath, to the building of his spirituall howse, the Church, purchased with the bloud of Christ. Wherefore seeing it is so, that every one is to further this spirituall building to his possible power, I

have rather chofen, with the fimpleft and meaneft fort, to bring, though but hayre, fand, fkins, lyme, morter, wood, or ftones, than altogether to contribute nothing.

Not doubting, but that the chief Maifter and Builder of this howfe, Chrift Jefus, will not diflike, but accept of my poore contribution, no leffe than he did of the poore wydowes mite, to whom was imputed that ſhe had caſt more in Gazophilatium Templi, into the treafury of the Temple, than all the reſt; for what ſhe wanted in effect that ſhe ſupplied in affect. And for that, alfo, the Lord our God committing his talents to every one, whether more or leffe, not onely requireth of us the fame againe ſimply, but alfo, as a ſtraight computiſt, demaundeth intereſt and gaine of every one of us: and for that not only he is a murtherer and a homicide before God who ſlayeth or killeth a man with materiall ſword, but he alfo who may prevent the fame, and will not. And not onely he is guiltie of haynous tranſgreſſion that committeth any evill really, but alfo he that conſenteth to it, as he doth, who holdeth his peace, or he who by any means might avoid it, and either for negligence wil not, or, for feare of the world dare not. Therefore, albe it, that I have received but one poore talent, or rather the ſhadow of one, yet leaſt I might be reprov'd (with that unprofitable ſervant) for hydyng my ſmall talent in the earth, not profiting therewith at all, either myſelf or others, I have adventured the making of this litle treatiſe, (intituled The Anatomy of Abufes) hoping that the fame (by divyne aſſiſtance) ſhall ſomewhat conduce to the building of this ſpirituall howfe of the Lord.

And although I be one (moſt honorable Lord) that can do leaſt in this Godly courſe of life (palpable barbariſme forbidding mee ſo much as once to enter into wyſdomes

school), yet for that some will not, for feare of losing worldly promotion (though in the meane tyme they lose the Kingdome of Heaven), other some dare not for displeasing the world: I say for these, and semblable causes, together with the zeale and good will I beare unto my countrey, and fervent desire of their conversion and amendment, I have taken upponn me the contryving of this book; which God graunt may be with like plaufible alacritie received, as with paines and good will I have published it for the benefit of my cuntrey, the pleasure of the godly and the amendment of the wicked. And I doubt not that as none but the wicked and perverse, whose gawld backes are tucted, will repyne against mee, so the godly and vertuous will accept of this my labour and travaile herein, whose gentle favour and goodwill shall counterpoyse (and farre surmount with mee) the maligne stomacks and stearn countenances of the other. After that I had (right honorable) fully perfected this booke, I was minded, notwithstanding, both in regard of the straungenes of the matter it intreateth of, and also in respect of the rudenesse of my penne, to have suppressed it for ever, for diverse and fundry causes, and never to have offred it to the viewe of the world, but, notwithstanding, being overcome by the importunat request, and infatigable desire of my freinds, I graunted to publish the same, as you now see is extant.

But when I had once graunted to imprinte the same, I was in greater doubt than before, fearinge to whome I might dedicate the same so rude and impolished a worke. And withall I was not ignorant, how hard a thing it is in these daies to finde a patrone of such books as this, which sheweth to every one his sin, and discovereth every mans wicked waies, which indeed the ungodly can not at any hand abyde,

but, as it were, mad-men disgorging their stomacks (*cum in Authorem tum in codicem plenis buccis et dentibus plusquam caninis rabide feruntur*) they rage, they fume, and rayle both against the author and his booke. Thus (*vacillante animo*) my minde wandering too and fro, and resting, as it weare, in extasie of despaire, at last I called to mind your honorable Lordship, whose prayfes have pearced the skyes, and whose laudable vertues are blowen not over the realme of England onely, but even to the furthest coasts and parts of the world.

All whose vertues and condigne prayfes, if I should take uppon mee to recounte, I might as well number the starres of the sky, or grasse of the earth.

For, for godly wysdome, and zeale to the truth, is not your good Lordship (without offence be it spoken) comparable with the best? For sobrietie, affabilitie, and gentle curtesie to every one, farre excelling many.

For your great devotion and compassion to the poore oppressed, in all places famous: for godly fidelitie to your Sovereigne, love to the cuntrey, and vertues in generall, everie where most renowned.

But least I might obscure your worthie commendations with my unlearned penne (lytle or no thing at all emphaticall) I will rather surcease than further to proceed, contenting my selfe rather to have given a shadowe of them, than to have ciphered them forth, which indeed are both infinit and inexplicable.

In consideration whereof, notwithstanding that my Booke be simpler, baser, and meaner than that it may (without blushing) present it self to your good Lordship (being farre unworthie of such an honorable personage) yet, accordinge to your accustomed clemency, I most humbly beseeche your

good Lordship to receive the same into your honours patrociny and protection, accepting it as an infallible token of my faithfull heart, service, and good will towardes your honourable Lordship: for prooffe whereof, would God it might once come to passe, that if not otherwyse, yet with my humble service, I might shewe foorth the faithfull and ever willing heart I beare in brest to your Lordship, protesting before Heaven and earth, that though power want, yet shall fidelitie and faithfulness faile never.

And because this my booke is subject (my verie good Lord) to as many reproches, tauntes and reproofes as ever was any litle book (for that few can abyde to have their sins detected) therefore I have the greater care to commit the same to the guidance and defence of your honour, rather than to manie others, not onely for that God hath made your honour a lamp of light unto the world of true nobilitie and of al integritie and perfection, but also hath made you his substitute, or viceregent, to reforme vices, punish abuses, and correcte sinne.

And as in mercie he hath given you this power and authoritie, so hath he given you a hungrie desire to accomplish the same according to his will: which zeal in your sacred brest the Lord increafe for ever.

And as your Lordship knoweth, reformation of maners and amendement of lyfe was never more needfull, for was pride (the chiefeft argument of this booke) ever so rype? Do not both men and women (for the most part) every one in generall go attyred in silks, velvets, damasks, fatins, and what not? which are attyre onely for the nobilitie and gentrie, and not for the other at anie hand? Are not unlawfull games, playes, and enterluds, and the like every

where used? Is not whoredome, covetousnes, usurie, and the like, daylie practised without all punishment of lawe?

But hereof I say no more, referring the consideration, both of these and the rest, to your godly wysdome. Beseaching your good Lordship to pardon my presumption in speaking thus much, for (*zelus domini huc adegit me*) the zeal of my God hath dryven me heather.

Knowledge that the Lord hath ordeined you to himselfe, a chofen vessell of honour, to purge his Church of these abuses and corruptions, which, as in a table, are depainted and set forth in this litle booke.

Thus I cease to molest your sacred eares any further with my rude speaches, most humbly beseaching your good Lordship, not onely to admit this my book into your honours patronage and defence, but also to persist the just defender thereof against the swynish crew of rayling Zoilus and flowting Momus, with their complices; to whome it is easier to deprave all things, than to amend any thing themselves: which if I shall perceive to be accepted of your honour, besides that I shal not care for a thousand others disliking the same, I shall not only think my self to have received a sufficient guerdon for my paines, and shalbe therby greatly incoraged (if God permit) hereafter to take in hand some memorable thing to your immortall prayse, honour and renowne; but also shall daylie pray to God for your good Lordship long to continue, to his good pleasure and your harts desire, with increase of godly honour, reward of laudable vertue, and eternall felicitie in the Heavens by Jesus Christ.

Columna gloriæ vertus.

Your Honors to commaund,

PHILLIP Stubbes.

A PREFACE

to the Reader.

I THOUGHT it convenient (good reader, who foever thou art that shalt read these my poore laboures) to admonish thee (least haply thou mightest take my woords otherwise than I meant them) of this one thing: that wheras in the proceffe of this my booke, I have intreated of certen exercyses usually practised amongst us, as namely of playes and enterludes, of dauncing, gaming and such other like, I would not have thee so to take mee, as though my speaches tended to the overthrowe and utter disliking of all kynd of exercyses in generall: that is nothing my simple meaning. But the particulare abuses which are crept into every one of these severall exercyses is the onely thing which I think worthie of reprehension.

For otherwise (all abuses cut away) who feeth not that some kind of playes, tragedies and enterludes, in their own nature are not onely of great ancientie, but also very honest and very commendable exercyses, being used and practised in most Christian common weales, as which containe matter (such they may be) both of doctrine, erudition, good example, and wholsome instruction; and may be used, in tyme and place convenient, as conducive to example of life and reformation of maners. For such is our grosse and dull nature, that what thing we see opposite

before our eyes, do pearce further and printe deeper in our harts and minds, than that thing which is hard onely with the eares, as Horace, the hethen poet, can witnesse : *Segnius irritant animum dimissa per aures, quam quæ sunt hominum oculis objecta.* So that when honest and chaste playes, tragedies and enterluds are used to these ends, for the godly recreation of the mind, for the good example of life, for the avoyding of that which is evill, and learning of that which is good, than are they very tollerable exercyses. But being used (as now commonly they be) to the prophanation of the Lord his sabaoth, to the alluring and invegling of the people from the bleffed word of God preached to theaters and unclean assemblies, to ydlenes, unthriftines, whordome, wantonnes, drunkennes, and what not ; and which is more, when they are used to this end, to maintaine a great fort of ydle persons, doing nothing but playing and loytring, having their lyvings of the sweate of other mens browes, much like unto dronets devouring the sweet honie of the poore labouring bees, than are they exercyses (at no hand) sufferable.

But being used to the ends that I have said, they are not to be disliked of any sober and wise Christian.

And as concerning dauncing, I wold not have thee (good reader) to think that I condemne the exercyse it self altogether; for I know the wisest sages, and the godliest fathers and patriarches that ever lived, have now and than used the same, as David, Salomon, and many others : but my woords doo touch and concerne the abuses thereof onely. As being used uppon the sabaoth day, from morning untill night, in publique assemblies and frequencies of people, men and women together, with pyping, fluting, dromming,

and such like inticements to wantonneffe and fin, together with their leapinges, skipplings, and other unchast gestures, not a few : being used, or rather abused, in this sort, I utterly discommend it.

But uppon the other side, being used in a mans privat-chamber, or howse, for his godly solace and recreation in the feare of God ; or otherwise abroad, with respect had to the time, place and persons, it is in no respect to be disallowed.

And wheras I speake of gaming, my meaning is not that it is an exercise altogether unlawful. For I know that one Christian may play with another at any kind of godly, honest, civile game, or exercise, for the mutuall recreation one of the other, so that they be not inflamed with covetousnes, or desire of unlawfull gaine ; for the commaundment faith, thou shalt not covet : wherfore, if any be voide of these affections, playing rather for his godly recreation, than for desire of filthie lucre, he may use the same in the feare of God : yet so as the use therof be not a let or hinderance unto him to any other godly exploit.

But if a man make (as it weare) an occupation of it, spending both his tyme and goods therein, frequenting gaming houses, bowling allyes, and such other places, for greedinesse of lucre, to him it is an exercise altogether discommendable and unlawfull. Wherfore, as these be exercyses lawfull to them that know how to use them in the feare of God, so are they practises at no hand sufferable to them that abuse them, as I have shewed. But take away the abuses, the thinges in themselves are not evill, being used as instruments to godlynes, not made as spurres unto vice. There is nothing so good but it may be abused, yet

because of the abuses, I am not so strict that I wold have the things themselves remooved, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because it is abused, utterly to be taken away.

And wheras also I have spoken of the excesse in apparell, and of the abuse of the same, as wel in men as in women generally, I wold not be so understood, as though my speeches extended to any, either noble, honorable, or worshipful; for I am farre from once thinking that any kind of sumptuous or gorgeous attire is not to be worn of any of them, as I suppose them rather ornaments in them, than otherwise.

And that they both may, and, for some respects ought, to were such attire (their birthes, callings, functions, and estats requiring the same) for causes in this my booke laid downe, as may appeare; and for the distinction of them from the inferiour sorte it is provable, both by the Word of God, ancient writers, and common practise of all ages, people and nations from the beginning of the world to this day.

And therefore, when I speake generally of the excesse of apparell, my meaning is of the inferiour sorte onely, who for the most parte do farre surpasse either noble, honorable, or worshipfull, ruffling in filks, velvets, satens, damasks, taffeties, gold, silver, and what not, with their swoords, daggers, and rapiers guilte and reguilte, burnished, and costly engraven, with al things els that any noble, honorable, or worshipfull man doth, or may weare, so as the one cannot easily be discerned from the other.

These be the abuses that I speake of, these be the evils that I lament, and these be the persons that my words doo concerne, as the tenure of my Booke, consideratly wayed, to any indifferent reader doth purport.

This much I thought good (gentle Reader) to informe

thee of, for thy better instruction, as well in these few points,
as in all other the like, whersoever they shall chaunce to
occurre in my booke; beseeching thee to construe at
things to the best, to beare with the rudenes therof, and
to give the same thy good-woord and gentle
acceptaunce. And thus in the
Lord I bid thee
farewell.

Thyne to use in the Lord,

PHILLIP Stubbes.

PHILLIPPUS STUBEUS

candido lectori.

Offendit nimia te garrulitate libellus
fortè meus, Lector miror id ipse nihil.
Obsitus est etenim verborum colluvione
plusquam vandalica, rebus et infipidis.
Quare si sapias operam ne perditio post hac
nostra legendo, legas utiliora, vale.

Idem in Zoilum.

Zoile cum tanta rabia exardescis in omnes,
non aliter rabidus, quam solet ipse canis :
Dente Theonino rodens alios, calamoque,
incessens hos, qui nil nocuere tibi :
Vipeream in cunctos vibrans O Zoile linguam,
linguam quam inficiunt toxica dira tuam :
Cum Debacchandi finis fit Zoile nullus,
hora quieta tibi nullaue prætereat :
Cum tumeas veluti ventrosus Zoile bufo,
demiror medius quod minus ipse crepes.

Aliud in eundem.

Dæmones ad tetrum descendat Zoius antrum,
hunc lacerent furia, Cerborus ore voret.
Imprecor at misero quid pænas, cui fatis intus ?
dæmona circumfert pectore namque suo.

Ejusdem aliud.

Si tibi prolixus nimium liber iste videtur
pauca legas, poterit sic liber esse brevis.

A. D. IN COMMENDATION OF THE AUTHOR
AND HIS BOOKE.

If mortall-man may challenge prayse
For any thing done in this lyfe,
Than may our Stubbes, at all affayes,
Injoy the same withouten stryfe :
Not onely for his godly zeale,
And Christian life accordinglie,
But also for this booke in sale,
Heare present, now before thine eye.
Herein the abufes of these dayes,
As in a glasse thou mayest behold :
Oh ! buy it than ; hear what he fayes,
And give him thanks an hundred fold.

I. F. IN COMMENDATION OF THE AUTHOR
AND HIS BOOKE.

Shall men prophane, who toyes have writ,
And wanton pamphlets store,
Which onely tend to noorish vice,
And wickednes the more,
Deserve their praise, and for the fame
Accepted be of all,
And shall not this our author than
Receive the lawrell pall ?
Who for goodwill in sacred brest
He beares to native foyle,
Hath published this godly booke
With mickle payne and toyle.

Wherein, as in a mirrour pure,
 Thou mayest behold and see
 The vices of the world displayed
 Apparent to thy eye.
 He flattereth none, as most men do,
 In hope to gaine a price ;
 But shewes to all their wickednesse,
 And Gods divyne justice.
 A godlyer booke was never made,
 Nor meeter for these dayes :
 Oh ! read it than, thank God for it ;
 Let th' Autor have his praise.

THE AUTHOR AND HIS BOOKE.

Now having made thee, feelie booke,
 and brought thee to this frame,
 Full loth I am to publish thee,
 lest thou impaire my name.

The Booke.

Why so, good maister ? what's the cause
 why you so loth should be
 To fend me foorth into the world,
 my fortune for to trye ?

The Author.

This is the cause ; for that I know
 the wicked thou wilt move ;
 And eke because thy ignorance
 is such as none can love.

The Booke.

I doubt not but all godly men
 will love and like mee well;
 And for the other I care not,
 in pride although they swell.

The Author.

Thou art also no lesse in thrall,
 and subject every way
 To Momus and to Zoilus crew,
 who'le dayly at thee bay.

The Booke.

Though Momus rage and Zoilus carpe,
 I feare them not at all;
 The Lord my God, in whom I trust,
 shall soone cause them to fall.

The Author.

Well, fith thou wouldest so faine be gone,
 I can thee not withhold;
 Adieu, therefore; God be thy speade,
 And bleffe thee a hundred fold.

The Booke.

And you also, good maister mine,
 God bleffe you with his grace;
 Preserve you still, and graunt to you
 In Heaven a dwelling place.

THE ANATOMIE OF THE ABUSES IN AILGNA.

THE INTERLOCUTORS, OR SPEAKERS.

Spudeus, Philoponus.

GOD geve you good morrow, Maister Philoponus.

Philo. And you also, good brother Spudeus.

Spud. I am glad to see you in good health, for it was bruted abroad every where in our countrey (by reason of your discontinuance, I thinke) that you were dead long agoe.

Flying fame
oftentimes
lyeth.

Philo. In deede, I have spent some tyme abroad, els where than in my native countrey (I must needs confesse), but how false that report is (by whom soever it was first rumored, or how farre so ever it be disperfed) your present eyes can witnesse.

Spud. I pray you, what course of lyfe have you lead in your longe absence foorth of your owne country?

Philo. Truly (brother) I have lead the life of a poore travayler in a certaine famous ilande, once named *Ainabla*, after *Ainatirb*, but now presently called *Ailgna*, wherein I have lived these seven winters and more, travailing from place to place, even all the land over indifferently.

The place
where the Au-
thour hath tra-
vayled.

Spud. That was to your no litle charges, I am sure.

Philo. It was so, but what than? I thank God I have

Travailing
chargeable.

atchieved it, and by his dyvine assistance prosperously accomplished it, his glorious name (worthie of all magnificence) bee eternally prayfed therefore.

Spud. And to what ende did you take in hand this great travayle? if I may be so bould as to aske.

The causes
that moved
the Author to
take this tra-
vaile in hand.

Philo. Truly, to see fashions, to acquainte myselfe with the natures, qualities, properties, and conditions of all men, to breake my selfe to the world, to learne nurture, good demeanour, and cyvill behaviour; to see the goodly situation of citties, townes, and countryes, with their prospectes and commodities; and finally to learne the state of all thinges in generall: all which I could never have learned in one place. For who so sitteth at home, ever commorante or abiding in one place, knoweth nothinge in respecte of him that travayleth abroad: and hee that knoweth nothing is like a brute beaste; but hee that knoweth all thinges (which thinge none doeth but God alone) hee is a God amongst men. And seeing there is a perfection in knowledge as in every thing els, every man ought to desire that perfection; for in my judgement there is as much difference (almost) betwixt a man that hath travayled much, and him that hath dwelt ever in one place, (in respect of knowledge and science of things) as is between a man lyvinge, and one dead in grave; and therefore I have had a great felicitye in travayling abroad.

The difference
betwixt a man
that hath tra-
vayled, and a
man that hath
not.

Spud. Seing that by divyne providence we are heare met together, let us (untill we come to the end of our purposed journey) use some conference of the state of the world now at this daie, as well to recreate our minds, as to cut of the tedyousnes of oure journeye.

Philo. I am very well contente so to doe, being not a litle

glad of your good companie; for *comes facundus in via, pro vehiculo est*, a good companion too travayle withall is instead of a wagon or chariot. For as the one doth ease the painfulnes of the way, so doth the other alleviat the yrk-fomnes of the journey intended.

The benefite of a good companion to travayle withall.

Spud. But before I enter combat with you (because I am a country man, rude and unlearned, and you, a cyvilian indued with great wisdome, knowledge, and experience,) I most humbly beseech you that you wyl not be offended with me, though I talke with you somewhat grossly, without eyther polished wordes, or fyled speeches, which your wisdom doth require, and my insufficiencie and inabylitie is not of power to affoorde.

A request to avoid offence.

Phil. Your speeches (I put you out of doubt) shall not be offensive to mee, if they be not offensive to God first.

Spud. I pray you what maner of countrey is that Ailgna, where you say you have travailed so much?

Philo. A pleasant and famous iland, immured about by the sea, as it were with a wall, wherein the aire is verie temperate, the ground fertile, and abounding with all things, either necessary to man or needefull for beast.

Ailgna a goodly cuntry.

Spud. What kinde of people are they that inhabite there?

Philo. A strong kinde of people, audacious, bold, puissant, and heroycal; of great magnanimitie, valiauncie, and prowes, of an incomparable feature, of an excellent complexion, and in all humanitie inferiour to none under the funne.

The people of Ailgna.

Spud. This people, whome God hath thus blessed, must needes bee a very godly people, eyther els they be meere ingrate to God, the author of all grace, and of these their blessinges especially.

The lives of
the people of
Ailgna.

Philo. It greeveth me to remember their lives, or to make mention of their wayes; for, notwithstanding that the Lorde hath blessed that lande with the knowledge of his truth above all other landes in the worlde, yet is there not a people more abrupte, wicked, or perverse, living upon the face of the earth.

Spud. From whence spring all these evils in man? for we see everie one is inclined to sin naturally, and there is no flesh which liveth and sinneth not.

From whence
all evilles
spring in man.

Philo. All wickednes, mischiefe, and sinne (doubte you not, brother *Spud.*) springeth of our auncient enemy the devill, the inveterate corruption of our nature, and the intestine malice of our owne hearts, as from the originals of all uncleannes and impuritie whatsoever. But we are now newe creatures, and adoptive children, created in Christ Jesus to doe good woorkes, which God hath prepared us to walke in. Wherefore wee ought to have no fellowship with the workes of darknesse, but to put on the armour of light, Christ Jesus, to walke in the newnesse of life, and to worke our salvation in feare and trembling, as the apostle saith; and our Saviour Christ biddeth us so work as our workes may glorifie our heavenlye Father. But (alas!) the contrarie is most true; for there is no sinne that was ever broached in any age, which flourisheth not nowe. And therefore the fearefull daie of the Lord cannot be farre of; at which day all the world shall stand in flashing fier, and then shall Christ our Saviour come marching in the cloudes of heaven, with his taratantara founding in each mans eare, Arise you dead, and come to judgement! and then shall the Lord reward every man after his own workes. But how little this is esteemed of, and how smally regarded, to consider it greeveth me to the very harte, and there is almost no life in mee.

We ought to
have no dealing
with the
workes of the
flesh.

The day of
dome not re-
garded.

Spud. It is but a follie to greeve at them who forowe not for them selves. Let them sinck in their owne sinne: lyve well your selfe, and you shall not answere for them, nor they for you. Is it not written, *unusquisque portabit suum onus*? Every one shall beare his owne burden. *Anima quæ peccaverit, ipsa morietur*: the soule that sinneth shall dy. Wherefore surcease to forow or greeve any more for them, for they are such as the Lord hath cast of[f] into a reprobate fence, and prejudicat opinion, and preordinat to destruction, that his power, his glorie, and justice may appeare to all the world.

Every man
must answer
for him selfe.

Philo. Oh, brother! ther is no Christian man in whose hart shineth *scintillula aliqua pietatis*, any sparke of God his grace, which will not greeve to see his brethren and sisters in the Lord, members of the same body, coheyres, of the same kingdom, and purchased with one and the same inestimable price of Christ his blood, to runne thus desperatlie into the gulfpe of destruction and laberinth of perdition. If the least and meanest member of the whole body be hurt, wounded, cicatriced, or brused, doth not the hart and everie member of thy body feele the anguish and paine of the grieved parte, seeking and endeavouring them selves, every one in his office and calling, to repaire the same, and never joying untill that he restored again to his former integritie and perfection? Which thinge, in the balance of Christian charity, consideratly weighed, may moove any good man to mourn for their defection, and to assay by all possible means to reduce them home again, that their soules maie be saved in the daye of the Lord. And the apostle commandeth us, that we be (*alter alterius emolumento*) an ayde and helpe one to an other. And that we do good to all men, *dum*

The mutual
harmonie of
one member
with an other.

No man born
for himselfe.

tempus habemus, whylest we have tyme. To weepe with them that weepe, to mourne with them that mourne, and to be of like affection one towards an other. And common reason advertifeth us, that wee are not borne for our selves onelie; for *ortus nostri partem patria, partem amici, partem parentes vendicant*: our country challengeth a part of our byrth, our brethren and frendes require an other parte, and our parentes (and that *optimo jure*) doe vendicate a third parte: wherefore I will assay to doe them good (if I can) in discovering their abuses, and laying open their inormities, that they, seeing the greevousnes of their maladies, and daunger of theyr diseases, may in time seeke to the true phisition and expert chirurgion of their soules, Christ Jesus, of whome onele commeth all health and grace, and so eternally be saved.

Spud. Seeing that so many and so haynous finnes do raigne and rage in Ailgna, as your words import, and which moove you to such intestine sorrowe and griefe of minde, I pray you describe unto me more perticularly some of those capitall crimes, and chiefe abuses which are there frequented, and which dishonour the majestie of God the most, as you suppose.

A particular description of Pride, the principall
Abuse; and how manifold it is
in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

You do well to request me to cipher forth unto you parte of those great abuses (and cardinall vices) used in

Ailgna, for no man in anie catalogue, how prolixie soever, is able to comprehend the summe of all abuses there in practise. And whereas you would have mee to speake of those capitall or chiefe abuses, which are both deadly in their owne nature, and which offende the majestie of God moſte, mee thinke you ſhake hands with the ſworne enemies of God, the Papiſtes, who ſay there are two kindes of ſinne, the one veniall, the other lethall or deadly. But you muſt underſtand that there is not the leaſt ſinne, that is committed, eyther in thought, woorde or deede (yea, *Væ univerſæ juſtitiae noſtræ, ſi remota miſericordia judicetur* : Wo be to all our rigteouſnes, if, mercy put away, they ſhould bee judged) but it is damnable, *dempta miſericordia Dei*, if the mercie of God be not extended. And againe ; there is no ſinne ſo greevous, which the grace and mercy of God is not able to counter-vaile withal, and if it bee his pleaſure to blot it out for ever. So that you ſee now, there is no ſinn ſo venial, but if the mercie of God be not ſtretched out, it is damnable ; nor yet anie ſinne ſo mortall, which by the grace and mercie of God may not be done away. And therefore as we are not to preſume of the one, ſo we are not to deſpaire of the other. But to returne againe to the ſatisfying of your requeſt. The greateſt abuſe, which both offendeth God moſte, and is there not a little advaunced, is the execrable ſinne of pride, and exceſſe in apparell, which is there ſo ripe, as the filthie fruits thereof have long ſince preſented themſelves before the throne of the majestie of God, calling and crying for vengeance day and nighte inceſſantly.

The number of
abuses infinite.

All ſinne in its
owne nature is
mortall.

The greateſt
abuſe which
offendeth God
moſt is pride.

Spud. Wherefore have you intended to ſpeak of pride the firſt of all, geving unto it the firſt place in your tractation ?

Because it is evill in it selfe, and the efficiente cause of evill, or for some other purpose?

Pride the begynning of all evill.

Eccles. 10.

What is it but pride dares attempt it.

Pride is threefold: pride of the hart, pride of the mouth, and pride of apparell.

Philo. For no other cause but for that I thinke it to bee not onely euill and damnable in its owne nature, but also the verie efficient cause of all evils. And therfore the wise man was bolde to call it *Initium omnium malorum*, the beginning and welspring of al evils. For as from the roote all natural thinges doe grow, and take their beginning, so from the curfed roote of pestiferous pride do all other evils sproute, and thereof are ingenerate. Therfore may pride be called not improperly, *Matercula et origo omnium vitiorum*, the mother and nurse of al mischief: for what thyng so haynous, what crime so flagitious, what deed so perillous, what attempt so venterous, what enterprise so pernicious, or what thing so offensive to God or hurtful to man in all the world, which man (of himselfe a very Sathanas), to maintain his pride withall, wil not willingly atchieve? hereof wee have too muche experience everye day, more is the pittie.

Spud. How manyfold is this sin of pride, whereby the glorie of God is defaced, and his majestie so greivously offended!

Philo. Pride is tripartite; namely, the pryde of the hart, the pride of the mouth, and the pryde of apparell, which (unles I bee deceived) offendeth God more then the other two. For as the pride of the heart and mouth is not opposite to the eye, nor visible to the sight, and therefor intice not others to vanitie and sin (notwithstanding they bee greivous finnes in the sight of God) so the pride of apparel, remaining in sight, as an exemplarie of evill, induceth the whole man to wickednes and sinne.

Spud. How is the pride of the hart committed?

Philo. Pride of the hart is perpetrate when as a man lifting him selfe on highe, thinketh of himself above that which he is of himselfe, dreaming a perfection of himselfe, when he is nothing lesse; and in respect of himselfe contemneth, vilifieth, and reproacheth all men, thinking none comparable to him selfe, whose righteousnes, notwithstanding, is like to the polluted cloth of a menstruous woman. Therefore the pryde of the heart may bee faide too bee a rebellious elation, or lyftyng uppe of the mynde agaynste the lawe of God, attriutyng and ascrybyng that unto himselfe whiche is proper to God onely. And although it bee the Lorde, *Qui operatur in nobis velle et posse*, who worketh in us both the wil and power to do good, *ne gloria-retur omnis caro*, leaste anie fleshe should boiste of his owne power and strength, yet pride, with his cofin germayn Philautia, which is selfe love, perswadeth him that he hath neede of no mans helpe but his owne; that he standeth by his own proper strength and power, and by no mans els, and that he is al in all; yea, so perfect and good as no more can be exacted of hym.

What pride of
the hart is.

Philautia.

Spud. How is pride of wordes, or pride of mouth, committed?

Philo. Pride of mouth, or of wordes, is when we boast, bragge, or glorie, eyther of ourselves, our kinred, consanguynitie, byrth, parentage, and fuche like: or when we extol our selves for any vertue, sanctimonie of lyfe, sincerytie of godlynes, which eyther is in us, or which we pretend to be in us. In this kinde of pride (as in the other) almost every one offendeth; for shal you not have all (in a maner) boast and vaunt themselves of their auncetors and progenitors? Saying and crying with open mouth, I am a

How pride of
wordes or of
mouth is com-
mitted.

gentleman, I am worshipful, I am honouorable, I am noble, and I can not tell what: my father was this, my father was that: I am come of this house, and I am come of that. Whereas, dame Nature bryngeth us all into the worlde after one forte, and receiveth all againe into the wombe of our mother, I meane the bowelles of the earth, al in one and the same order and manner, without any difference or diversitie at all; wherof more hereafter shalbe spoken.

Spud. How is pride of apparell committed?

How pride of
apparel is per-
petrate and
committed.

Philo. By wearyng of apparell more gorgeous, sumptuous, and precious than our state, callyng, or condition of lyfe requireth; wherby we are puffed up into pride, and inforced to thinke of our selves more than we ought, beyng but vile earth, and miserable finners. And this sinne of apparell (as I have sayde before) hurteth more then the other two; for the sinne of the heart hurteth none but the author in whom it breedeth, so long as it bursteth not foorth into exteriour action: and the pride of the mouth (whiche consisteth, as I have sayd, in ostenting and braggyng of some singular vertue, eyther in himselfe or some other of his kinred, and which he arrogateth to himselfe (by hereditarie possession or lineall dissent) though it be meere ungodly in it owne nature; yet it is not permanent (for wordes fly into the aire, not leaving any print or character behinde them to offend the eyes) but this sinne of excesse of apparell remayneth as an example of evyll before our eyes, and as a provocative to sinne, as experience daylye sheweth.

A decorum to
be observed.

Spud. Would you not have men to observe a decencie, a comlineffe, and a decorum in their usuall attyre? Doeth not the worde of God commaund us to do all things *decenter et secundum ordinem civilem*, decently and after a cyvile maner?

Philo. I would wish that a decencie, a comly order, and, as you say, a decorum were observed, as well in attyre as in all things els: but would God the contrarie were not true; for most of our novell inventions and new fangled fashions rather deforme us then adorne us, disguise us then become us, making us rather to resemble savadge beastes and stearne monsters, then continent, sober, and chaste Christians.

Our apparell
rather deform-
eth than
adorneth us.

Spud. Hathe this contagious infection of pride in apparell infected and poysoned any other countrey beside Ailgna, suppose you?

Philo. No doubt but this poyson hath shed foorth his influence, and powred foorth his stinking dregges over all the face of the earth; but yet I am sure there is not any people under the zodiacke of heaven, how clownish, rurall, or brutish foever, that is so poisoned with this arsnecke of pride, or hath drunke so deepe of the dregges of this cup as Ailgna hath; with grieve of conscience I speake it, with sorow I see it, and with teares I lament it.

Spud. But I have heard them saye that other nations passe them for exquisite bravery in apparell: as the Italians, the Athenians, the Spaniards, the Caldeans, Helvetians, Zuitzers, Venetians, Muscovians, and such lyke: now, whither this be true or not I greatly desire to knowe.

No cuntrey so
drunken with
pride as
Ailgna.

Philo. This is but a visour, or cloke, to hide their sodometrie withall; onelye spoken, not prooved; forged in the deceitfull mint of their owne braynes; for (if credit may be given to ancient writers) the Egyptians are said never to have changed their fashion, or altered the forme of their first attire from the beginning to this day: as Jacobus Stuperius, *lib. de diversis nostræ ætatis habilibus*, pag. 16, affirmeth. The Grecians are saide to use but one kynde of apparell without

any chaunge: that is, to wit, a longe gowne reaching downe to the grounde.

The Germaynes are thought to be so precise in observing one uniforme fashion in apparell, as they have never receeded from their first origina; as the said Stuperius sayth in these wordes: *Non enim mores leviter mutare vetustas, Germanus unquam consuevit incola*: whiche in Englysh verse is thus muche in effect:

*The Germayne people never use
lightly to chop and chaunge
Their customes olde, or els attyre,
wherin abroad they range.*

The Muscovians, Athenians, Italians, Brasilians, Affricans, Asianes, Cantabrians, Hungarians, Ethiopians, or els what nation foever under the sunne, are so farre behinde the people of Ailgna in exquisitnesse of apparell, as in effect they esteeme it litle or nothyng at all, so it repell the colde and cover their shame; yea, some of them are so smally addicted therto, that, setting apart all honestie and shame, they go cleane naked. Other some meanly apparelled, some in beasts skinner, some in haire, and what ever they can get: some in one thing, some in another, nothing regarding eyther hosen, shoes, bands, ruffes, shirts, or any thing els. And the civilest nations that are bee so farre estraunged from the pride of apparell, that they esteeme him as bravelye attyred that is clothed in our carzies, frizes, ruggs, and other kinds of cloth, as we do him that is clad all over in filkes, velvets, fatens, damasks, gro-grains, taffeties, and such like. So that herby you see that they speak untruly, that say that other nations exceede them

in braverie of apparell. For it is manifest that all other nations under the sun, how strange, how new, how fine, or how comly foever they think their fashions to be, when they be compared with the dyverse fashions and fundrie formes of apparell in Ailgna, are most unhandsome, brutish, and monstrouse. And herby it appeareth that no people in the world is so curiouse in new fangles as they of Ailgna be. But graunte it were so, and admit that others excelled them (which is false), shall we do evill because they do so? shall their wickednesse excuse us of sinne, if we commit the like and worse? shall not the foule that finneth dye? Wherefore let us not sinne of presumption with the multitude, because they do so, leaft we be plagued with them because we doe the like. Moreover, those cuntreyes are rich and welthie of them selves, abounding with all kind of preciouſe ornaments and riche attyre, as filks, velvets, fatens, damasks, farcenet, taffetie, chamlet, and such like (for al these are made in those foraine cuntreyes), and therefore if they weare them they are not muche to be blamed, as not having anie other kind of cloathing to cover themselves withall. So if wee would contente ourselves with such kinde of attire as our owne countrey doeth minister unto us, it were much toller-able. But wee are so surprised in pride, that if it come not from beyond the seas, it is not worth a straw. And thus we impoverish our selves in buying their trifling merchandizes, more plesant than necessarie, and enrich them, who rather laugh at us in their sleeves than otherwise, to see our great follie in affecting of trifles, and departing with good merchandizes for it. And howe litle they esteeme of filkes, velvets, fatens, damasks, and such like, wee may easely see, in that they sell them to us for wolles, frizes, ruggs, carzies,

Other coun-
treys not to
be blamed
though they
go in silkes,
velvets, and
why.

Other coun-
tries esteeme
not so muche
silkes, velvets,
as we do.

and the lyke, whiche they coulde never doe if they esteemed of them as much as we doe. So that you see they are forced of necessitye to weare such riche attyre, wanting other things (whereof we have store) to invest themselves withall. But who seeth not (excepte wilfullie blynde) that no necessitie compelleth us to weare them, having abundance of other things to attire our selves with, both hanfomer, warmer, and as comlie as they in everie respecte? But farre fetched and deare bought is good for ladyes they say.

Spud. Doe you thinke it not permitted to any, havinge store of other necessary clothing, to weare filkes, velvets, taffeties, and other suche riche attyre, of what calling soever they be of?

Every man
may weare
apparel ac-
cording to his
callinge.

The nobility
may weare
gorgiouse at-
tire, and why.

Majestrats
may weare
sumptuouse
attyre, and
why.

Ph. I doubt not but it is lawfull for the potestates, the nobilitie, the gentrie, yeomanrie, and for everye private subiecte els to weare attyre every one in his degree, accordinge as his calling and condition of life requireth; yet a meane is to be kept, for *omne extremum vertitur in vitium*, every extreme is turned into vice. The nobilitye (though they have store of other attyre) and the gentrie (no doubt) may use a rich and precouse kynd of apparell (in the feare of God) to innoble, garnishe, and set forth the byrthes, dignities, functions, and callings; but for no other respecte they they may not in any maner of wyse. The majestrats also and officers in the weale publique, by what tytle soever they be called (accordinge to their abyilities), may weare (if the prince or superintendent do godly commaund) costlie ornaments and riche attyre, to dignifie their callings, and to demonstrat and shewe forth the excelency and worthines of their offices and functions, therby to strike a terroure and feare into the harts of the people to offend against the

majesty of their callings : but yet would I wish that what is superfluous or overmuch, either in the one or in the other, should be distributed to the helpe of the pore members of Christ Jesus, of whom an infinite number daylie do perish thorowe want of necessary refection and due sustentation to their bodies. And as for the privat subjects, it is not at any hand lawful that they should weare filks, velvets, fatens, damasks, gould, silver, and what they list (though they be never so able to maintain it), except they, being in some kinde of office in the common wealth, do use it for the dignifying and innobling of the same. But now there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparell in Ailgna, and such preposterous excesse therof, as every one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparell he lust himselfe, or can get by anie kind of meanes. So that it is verie hard to knowe who is noble, who is worshipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not : for you shall have those which are neither of the nobylitie, gentilitie, nor yeomanry ; no, nor yet anie magistrat, or officer in the common welth go daylie in filkes, velvets, fatens, damasks, taffeties, and such like, notwithstanding that they be both base by byrthe, meane by estate, and fervyle by calling. This is a great confusion, and a generall disorder, God be mercifull unto us !

Spud. If it be not lawfull for every one to weare filks, velvets, fatens, damasks, taffeties, gold, silver, precious stones, and what not, wherfore did the Lord make and ordein them ?

Philo. I denie not but they may be worne of them who want other things to cloth them withal, or of the nobylity, gentilytie, or magistrery, for the causes abovesaid, but not of every proud fixnet indifferentlie, that have store of other

Not lawfull for private subjectes to weare sumptuous attyre.

Hard to know a gentleman from another by apparell.

Wherefore the Lord made riche ornaments.

Wherto riche
ornamentes do
serve.

attyre inough. And yet did not the Lord ordeane theſe riche ornaments and gorgiouſe veſtments to be worne of all men, or of anie, ſo muche as to garniſh, bewtiſie, and ſet forth the majeſty and glorie of this his earthly kingdome : for as cloth of gold, araſe, tapeſtrie, and ſuch other riche ornaments, pendices, and hangings in a houſe of eſtate ſerve not onely to manuall uſes and ſervile occupations, but alſo to decorate, to bewtiſie, and become the houſe, and to ſhowe the riche eſtate and glorie of the owner ; ſo theſe riche ornaments, and ſumpteuſe veſtments of the earthly territory of this world, do not onelie ſerve to be worn of them, to whome it doth appertaine (as before) but alſo to ſhew forth the power, welth, dignity, riches, and glorie of the Lord, the author of all goodneſſe. And here in the providence and mercy of God appeareth moſt plainelye ; for wher there is ſtore of other clothing, there hath he given leſſe ſtore of ſilks, velvets, fatens, damasks, and ſuch like : and wher there is plenty of them there is no clothing els almoſt ; and thus the Lord did deale for that every cuntrey ought to contente themſelves with their owne kind of attyre ; except neceſſytye force the contrarie, for than we are to uſe our libertie, in the feare of God.

Spud. I praye you, let mee intreate you to ſhewe me wherefore our apparell was given us, and by whome ?

When, where,
and for what
cauſe our
apparell was
geven us.

Philo. Your requeſte is both diffuſe and intricate, and more than my weake and infirme knowledge is able to comprehend ; yet leaſt I might bee adjudged unwilling to doe good, I will affay to doe the beſt I can.

When the Lord our God, a ſpiritual, intellectuall underſtanding ſubſtance, incomprehenſible, immenſurable, and in-
acceſſible, had, by his woord and heavenly wiſdome, Chriſt

Jefus, created and made the world and all things therin contayned, the fixte day he created man after his own fimilitude and likenes, in innocencie, holines, righteoufnes, and all kind of perfection, he placed him in Paradife teref-trial, commaunding him to tyl and manure the fame. Than, the devil, an old maligner of mankind, who before was an angel in heaven, and through fin of pride in arrogating to himfelfe the feate and throne of Gods majesty, caft down into the lake of hell, envying mans glorious eftate, which he than had loft, came unto man in Paradife, and inticed him (oh, torteoufe ferpent !) to eat of the forbidden fruite, wherof the Lorde God had forbidden him to taft on pain of his life : notwithstanding Adam, condefcending to his wife her perfwafions, or rather to the serpent, having buzzed his venomous fuggeftions into their eares, tooke of the apple and did eat, contrarie to the exprefse commandement of his God. This done, their eyes were opened, thei faw their nakednes, and were not a litle afhamed ; (and yet before fin was committed, they, being both naked, were not afhamed ; but fin once committed they became uncleane, filthie, lothfome, and deformed,) and fewed them garments of fig leaves together, to cover their shame withall. Than the Lord, pittying their miferie and loathing their deformity, gave them pelts and felles of beafts to make them garments withall, to the end that their shamefull parts might leffe appeare ; yet fome are fo brafen faced and fo impudent that, to make the devill and his members sport, will not fticke to make open shew of thofe parts which God commaundeth to be covered, nature willeth to be hid, and honefty is afhamed once to behold or looke upon.

The fall of
man by the
malice of the
devill.

Impudent
beafts.

Spud. I gather by your words three fpeciall poynts. Firft,

that fin was the cause why our apparell was given us ; secondly, that God is the author and giver therof ; thirdly, that it was given us to cover our shame withall, and not to feed the insatiable desires of mens wanton and luxurious eies.

Wherfor our
apparell was
geven us.

Philo. Your collection is very true. Than, seeing that our apparel was given us of God to cover our shame, to keep our bodies from cold, and to be as pricks in our eies to put us in mind of our miseries, frailties, imperfections, and sin, of our backeslyding from the commaundements of God and obedience of the highest, and to excite us the rather to contrition and compunction of the spirit, to bewaile our misery, and to crave mercy at the mercifull hands of God, let us be thankfull to God for them, be sorie for our finnes (which weare the cause therof,) and use them to the glory of our God, and the benefyte of our bodies and soules, against the great day of the Lord appeare. But (alas) these good creatures which the Lord our God gave us for the respects before rehearsed, we have so perverted as now they serve, in stead of the devills nettes, to catche poore soules in ; for every one now adaies (almost) covet to deck and painte their living sepulchres, or earthly graves (their bodies I meane) with all kind of braverie, what soever can be devised, to delight the eyes of the unchast behoulders, wherby God is dishonored, offence is encreased, and much sinne daylie committed, as in further discourse shall plainly appeare.

Mens bodies
living sepul-
chres.

Spud. Did the Lord cloth our first parents in leather, as not having any thing more precieuse to attyre them withall, or for that it might be a permanent rule, or patern, unto us (his posterity) for ever, wherafter we are of force to make all our garments, so as it is not now lawfull to go in richer arraye, without offendinge his majestie ?

Philo. Although the Lord did not cloth them so meanly, for that he had nothing els more preciouſe to attyre them withall, (for *Domini eſt terra, et plenitudo ejus*, the earth is the Lords and the fulneſſe therof, faith the Lord by his pfalmiſt; and by his prophet, Gold is myne, ſilver is myne, and all the riches of the world is my own,) yet, no doubt, but he would that this their meane and baſe attyre ſhould be as a rule, or pedagogie, unto us, to teach us that we ought rather to walke meanelye and ſimplye, than gorgiouſly or pompouſly; rather ſerving preſent neceſſitye, than regarding the wanton appetits of our laſciviouſe mindes. Not withſtandinge, I ſuppoſe not that his heavenlye majeſty would that thoſe garments of lether ſhould ſtand as a rule or pattern of neceſſytie unto us, wherafter we ſhold be bound to ſhape all our apparell for ever, or els greivouſlye to offende; but yet by this we may ſee his bleſſed will is, that we ſhould rather go an ace beneth our degree, than a jote above. And that any ſimpe covering pleaſeth the godly, ſo that it repell the colde and cover the ſhame, it is more than manifeſt, as well by the legends both of prophane hiſtoryographers, chronologers, and other writers, as alſo by the cenſures, examples, and lyves of all godly ſince the beginning of the world. And if the Lord would not that the attyre of Adam ſhould have beene a ſigne or patterne of mediocritie unto us, he both in mercy would and, in his almighty power, could have inveſted them in filks, velvets, fatens, grograins, gold, ſilver, and what not. But the Lord our God foreſawe that if he had clothed man in rich and gorgiouſe attyre (ſuch is our proclivitye to finne) he wold have bene proude therof, as we ſee it is come to paſſe at this day (God amend it), and therby purchaſe to himſelfe, his body and foule, eternall damnation.

In our apparell we ought rather to obey neceſſity than to feed vanity.

Adam his mean kind of attire was a ſign of mediocritie unto us in our apparell.

Spud. Than, it seemeth a thinge materiall, and of great importance, that we resemble our first parents in austeritie and simplicity of apparell, so much as may be possible, doth it not?

No religion
reposed in
apparell.

Philo. I put no religion in goinge, or not goinge, in the like simple attyre of our parents Adam and Eva (as our Papists, Papistes? no, Sorbonists, Sorbonists? no, Atheists Atheists? no, plaine Sathanists do, placing all their religion in hethen garments and Romish raggs) so that we observe a meane and excede not in pride. But notwithstanding, if we approched a litle nearer them in godly simplicitie and christian sobrietie, both of apparell and maner of lyvinge, we should not onely please God a great deale the more, and enritche our cuntrey, but also avoyd many scandals and offences which grow daily by our excessive ryot, and ryotouse excesse in apparell. For doth not the apparell styrre uppe the heart to pride? doth it not intice others to sinne? and doth not sin purchase hell, the guerdon of pride?

The fruite of
pride.

Spud. But they say they please God, rather than offend him, in wearing this gorgiouse attyre, for therby the glory of his workmanship in them doth more appeare. Besides that, it maketh a man to be accepted and esteemed of in every place; wheras otherwise they should be nothing lesse.

The Lord accepteth no
man after his
apparell.

Philo. To think that the Lorde our God is delighted in the splendente shew of outward apparell, or that it setteth forth the glory of his creatures, and the majesty of his kingdom, I suppose there is no man (at least no perfect christian man) so bewitched or affotted: for that weare as much as to say, that stinking pride and filthie sinne tended to the glory of God; so that the more we syn, the more we

increafe his prayfe and glorye. But the Lord oure God is fo farre from delightinge in finne, that he adjudgeth them to eternall death and damnation that committe the fame. Than, who is he that will take pleasure in vayne apparell, which, if it be worne but a whyle will fall to ragges, and if it be not worne will soone rotte or els be eaten with mothes. His wayes are not oure wayes, his judgements not our judgements, as he sayth by his Prophet: and wheras they holde that apparell fetteth foorth the glorie of his majestie in his creatures, makynge them to appeare fairer, than other wyfe they would of themselves, it is blasphemously spoken, and much derogateth from the excellency and glory of his name. For faith not God by his prophet Moyfes, that after he had made all creatures, he beheld them all, and behould they weare (and especially man, the excellentest of all other his creatures, whom he made after his own similitude and liknesse) excedinge good? And were all creatures good and perfect, and only man not perfect, nor faire inough? If these their speeches were true (which in the fulnesse of their blasphemie they shame not to speake) than might we easly convince the Lord of untrue speaking, who in his sacred word informeth us, that man is the perfectest creature, and the fayrest of al others, that ever he made (excepting the heavenly spirits, and angelical creatures) after his own likenesse, as before. O man! who arte thou, that reasonest with thy Creator? shall the clay say unto the potter, why hast thou made me thus? or can the clay make himselfe better favored than the potter, who gave him his first stamp and proportion? Shall we think that stinking pride can make the workmanshippe of the Lord to seeme fayrer? Than, why did the Lord cloth us so

No attyre can
make the crea-
ture of God
seeme fayrer.

Every one is
not contente
himselfe with
his creation,
and so accuse
God of it.

The Lord our
God is a con-
suming fire to
destroy all
impenitent
sinners.

at the first? or at least, why gave he not commaundement in his will and testament, which he sealed with the price of the bloud of his sonne, to cloth our selves in riche and gorgiouse apparel to set forth his glory the more? But away with these dogs and hellish haggs, who retaine this opinion, that cursed pride glorifieth God, and setteth forth or bewtifieth his workmanship in his creatures! In vain is it for me to expostulat with them, for doubtles none hould this, but such as be miscreants (or devills incarnate) and men cast of into a reprobate sence, whom I beseech the Lord, in the bowels of his mercy, either speedely to convert that they perish not, or els confounde, that they hurte not, that peace may be uppon Israel. Thus, having sufficiently (I trust) refelled their false positions, I leave them to the Lord, beseeching them (as they tender their own salvation) *linguas compescere digitis*, to stoppe their sacrilegiouse mouthes with their fingers, and not to spit against heaven, or kicke against the pricke, as they do, anie longer: for the Lord our God is a consuming fier, and upon obstinate sinners shal raine down fire and brimston, and consume them in his wrath. This is our portion acquired by sinne.

Spud. But what say you to the other branch of their conclusion, namely, that apparell maketh them to be accepted, and well taken in every place?

Philo. Amongest the wicked and ignorante pezants, I must needes confesse, they are the more esteemed in respect of their apparell, but nothing at all the more, but rather the lesse, amongst the godly wyfe. So farre of[f] will all wyfe men be from accepting of any for his gay apparell onely, that be he never so gallantly painted or curiously plumed in the deceiptfull fethers of pride) they wil rather contemne

him a great deale the more, taking him to be a man puffed up with pride and vaine glorie, a thing both odiouse, and detestable to God and good men. And seeing it cannot stand with the rule of God his justice, to accept, or not to accept, any man for his apparell, or any other externe shew of deceitfull vanytie, it is manifest, that man, doinge the contrarie, is a Judas to the truth, a traytor to justice, and an enemy to the Lord: wherefore farre be that from al good Christians; and if those that go so richely clothed should be esteemed the rather for their rich apparel than *à contrario*, must those that go in meane and base attire be the more contemned, and despised for their povertie. And than, should Christ Jesus, our great Ambassador from the king of heaven, and only Saviour, be contemned, for he came in poore and mean array: but Christ Jesus is blessed in his pore raggs, and all others are contemned in their rich and precious attyre. Under a simple cote many tymes lyeth hid great wisdom and knowledg; and contrarely, under brave attyre somtime is covered great ydiotacy and folly. Hereof every daies succeffe offreth prooffe sufficient, more is the pytie.

Spud. Wherefore would you have men accepted, if not for apparell?

Philo. If any be so foolish to ymagin that he shalbe worshipped, revered, or accepted the rather for his apparell, he is not so wyse as I pray God make me. For surely, for my part, I will rather worshippe and accept of a pore man (in his clowtes and pore raggs) having the gifts and ornaments of the mind, than I will do him that roisteth and plaunteth daylie and howrely in his filks, velvets, fatens, damasks, gold or silver, what soever, without the induments

The wise will not accept of any after apparell.

Wisdom not tyed to exterior pompe of apparell.

Reverence due to vertue, not to attyre.

of vertue, wherto only al reverence is due. And therfore as any man is indued, or not indued, with vertue, and true godlynesse, so will I reverence, or not reverence, accept or not accept of him : wherfore if any gape after reverence, worship or acceptation, let them thirst after vertue, as namely, wisdome, knowledge, discretion, modestie, sobrietie, affability, gentlenesse and fuche like ; than can they be without reverence or acceptation no more than the sonne can be without light, the fire without heat, or the water without his naturall moysture.

Sp. Than I gather, you would have men accepted for vertue and true godlines, wold you not ?

Wherefore
man is to be
worshipped
and had in
reverence.

Gentilitie
without vertue
is not genti-
litie.

Ph. I would not only have men to be accepted and revered for their virtue (though the chiefeft reverence is onely to be attributed to him, whose sacred brest fraught with vertue, as it may well be called the *Promptuarie* or *Receptorie* of true wisdome and godlines, but also (in parte) for theyr byrthes fake, parentage and consanguinitie ; and not only that, but also in respect of their callings, offices and functions, whether it be in the temporall magistracy, or ecclesiasticall presbitery (so long as they governe godly and well) : for the Apostle sayth, that those elders which governe wel amongst us are worthie of double honor. But yet the man whom God hath blessed with vertue and true godlynes, though he be neyther of great byrth nor callinge, nor yet any magistrate whatsoever, is worthie of more reverence and estimation then any other without the ornaments of the minde, and gifts of vertue abovesaid. For what prevayieth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, and to be destitute of all vertue, which deserveth true worship ? what is it els then to carie a golden swoorde in a leaden scabbarde ? Is it any

thing els then a golden coffyn or painted sepulchre, makyng a fayre shewe outwardly, but inwardly is full of stinche and lothfomnes? I remember once I red a certaine storie of one, a gentleman by byrth and parentage, who greatly reproched, and withall disdayned an other, for that he was come to great authoritie onely by vertue, being but a poore mans child by byrthe: What! saith the gentleman by birth, arte thou so lustie? Thou arte but a coblers sonne, and wilt thou compare with me, being a gentleman by byrth and calling? To whom the other answered, thou arte no gentleman, for thy gentilitie endeth in thee, and I am a gentleman, in that my gentilitie beginneth in me: meaning (unlest I be deceived) that the wante of virtue in him was the decay of his gentility, and his vertue was the beginning of true gentilitie in him selfe: for virtue therefore, and not for apparell, is everye one to be accepted; for if we should accept of men after apparell onely, respecting nothing els, than shold it come to passe, that we might more esteeme of one, both meane by birth, base without virtue, servyle by calling, and poore in estate, more than of some by birthe noble, by virtue honorable, and by callinge laudable. And the reason is because every one, tagge and ragge, go braver, or at least as brave as those that be both noble, honorable and worshipfull.

Spud. But I have hard say, there is more holynesse in some kynd of apparell than in otherfome; which makes them so much to affect varytie of fashions, I thinke.

Philo. Indeed, I suppose that the summe of their religion doth consiste in apparell. And, to speake my conscience, I thinke there is more, or as much, holynesse in the apparell, as in them; that is, just none at all. But admit that there

The exordium of virtue is the exordium of gentilitie and worship, and want of the one is the decay of the other.

No holynes in
apparell.

be holynesse in apparall (as who is so infatuated to beleve it) that it followeth that the holynes pretended is not in them, and so be they plaine hypocrits to make shew of that which they have not. And if the holines by there attire prefaged be in them selves, than is it not in the garments; and why do they than attribute that to the garments whiche is neither adherente to the one, nor yet inherent in the other? Or if it wer so, why do they glory of it to the world? But I leave them to their follie, hasting to other matters more profitable to intreate of.

The argument
trimly con-
tryved.

Spud. But I have hard them reason thus: That which is good in it own nature cannot hurt; apparell is good, and the good creature of God: *ergo* no kynde of apparall can hurte. And if there be anie abuse in it, the apparell knowethe it not; therefore take away the abuse, and let the apparell remaine still, for so it maye (say they) without anie hurte at all.

Philo. These be well seasoned reasons, and substanciall asseverations in deed; but if they have no better arguments to leane unto than these, their kingdome of pride will shortly fall without all hope of recoverie againe. The apparell in it owne nature is good, and the good creature of God (I will not denie) and cannot hurte, except it be thorowe ouer owne wickednesse abused. And therefore wo be to them that make the good creatures of God instruments of dampnation to them selves, by not using them, but abusing them. And yet, notwithstanding, it maye be said to hurte, or not to hurte, as it is abused or not abused; and wheras they would have the abuse of apparell (if any be) taken away, and the apparell to remain still, it is impossible to supplant the one, without the extirpation of the

other also. For it is truely said, *sublata causa, tollitur effectus*; but not *subrepto effectu tollitur causa*; take away the cause and the effecte falleth, but not contrarylye, take away the effect and the cause falleth. The efficiente cause of pride is gorgiouse attire; the effect is pride it selfe ingenerate by attire: but to begin to plucke awaie the effecte (to wit, pride) and not to take awaye the cause first (namelie sumptuouse attyre) is as if a man, intending to supplant a tree by the rootes, should begin to pull the fruite and braunches onelye; or, to pull downe heaven, should dig in the earthe, workinge altogether preposterouslye and indyreclye. And the reason is, these two collaterall cosins, apparell and pride (the mother and daughter of mischief) are so combinate together, and incorporate the one in the other, as the one can hardlie be dyvorced from the other, without the distruction of them both. To the accomplismente wherof God graunte that those holsome laws, sanctiōns, and statuts, which, by our most gracious and serene princeesse (whome Iesus preserve for ever) and her noble and renowned progenitors, have beene promulgate and enacted hertofore, may be put in execution. For, in my opinion, it is as impossible for a man to were precieuse apparell and gorgiouse attyre, and not to be proude therof (for if he be not proud therof, why doth he weare suche riche attire, whereas meaner is both better cheape, easier to be had, as warme to the bodie and as decent and comly to any chaste Christians eye) as it is for a man to cary fire in his bosome and not to burne. Therefore, would God every man might be compelled to weare apparell according to his degree, estat, and condition of life; which, if it were brought to passe, I feare least some who ruffle now in filks, velvets, fatens, damasks, gold, silver, and

Impossible to take away pride, except sumptuous apparell be taken away also.

Apparell and pride combined together as mother and daughter.

Impossible not to be proud of rich attire.

what not, fhould be glad to weare frize cotes, and glad if they might get them.

Spud. What is your opinion? Did the people of the former world fo much esteeme of apparell as we doe at this present day, without respect had either to sex, kind, order, degree, estat, or callinge?

The godly
have ever de-
tested pride of
apparell.

The very
hethen have
contemned
sumptuouse
apparell.

Testimony of
hethen people
who derided
attire.

Philo. No doubt but in all ages they had their imperfections and faults, for *Hominis est errare, labi et decipi*; it is incident to man to err, to fall, and to be deceived. But, notwithstandinge, as the wicked have alwayes affected not onelie pride in apparell, but also all other vices whatsoever, so the chaste, godly, and sober Christians have ever eschewed this excesse of apparell, having a speciall regard to weare suche attyre as might neyther offend the majestie of God, provoke them selves to pride, nor yet offend any of their brethren in any respecte. But (as I have said) not onely the godly have detested and hated this vaine superfluetie of apparell in all tymes since the beginning of the worlde, but also the verie panims, the heathen philosophers, who knew not God (though otherwise wyse fages and great clarks), have contemned it as a pestiferous evill; in so muche as they have writ (almost) whole volumes against the same, as is to be seene in most of their books yet extant.

Spud. Are you able to prove that?

Philo. That I am, verie easelye; but of an infynite number, take a taste of these few. Democrates beeing demaunded, wherein the bewtie and comlie feature of man, or woman, consisted? aunswered, In fewnes of speeches well tempered together in virtue, in integrity of life, and suche like. Sophocles, feinge one weare gorgeouse apparell, said to him, Thou foole! thy apparell is no ornamente to the, but a

manifest shewe of thy follie. Socrates, being asked what was the greatestt ornamente in a woman, answered, That which most sheweth her chaſtitie, and good demeanoure of body and mind, and not ſumptuouſe attyre, which rather ſheweth her adulterate life. Ariſtotle is ſo diſtrict in this point, that he would have men to uſe meaner apparell than are permitted them by the lawe. The wife of Philo, the philoſopher, being uppon a tyme demaunded why ſhe ware not gold, ſiluer and preciouſe garments, ſaid, ſhe thought the vertues of her husband ſufficient ornaments for her. Dionifiſus, the king, ſente the richeſt garments of all his wardrobe to the noble women of the Lacedemonians, who returned them from whence they came, ſayinge, they would be a greater ſhame to them than honore. Kinge Pirrus ſent riche attyre to the matrones of Rome, who abhorred them as menſtruous clowtes. The conceived opinion amongſt the Grecians to this day is, that it is neither gold nor gorgiouſe attyre that adorneth either man or woman, but vertuous conditions, and ſuch like. Diogines ſo much contemned ſumptuous attyre, that he choſe rather to dwell in wilderneſſe amongſt brute beaſts all his lyfe longe, than in the pompouſe courts of mightie kings one daye to be commorante. For he thought, if he had the ornaments of the minde, that he was faire ynoughe, and fine inough alſo, not needing any more. A certen other philoſopher adreſſed himſelfe towards a kings courte in his philoſophers attyre, that is, in meane, baſe and poore aray; but ſo ſone as the officers eſpied him, they cried, Awaie with that rogue! what dothe he ſo nie the kinges majeſties courte? The poore philoſopher, ſeing it lighten ſo faſt, retyred back for feare of their thunder-clappes, and repayringe

Vertue is the
comlyeſt orna-
ment of all.

Diogenes his
ſeverity.

The example
of a philoso-
pher deriding
the pompe of
the world.

The example
of a philoso-
pher who spat
in the kings
face.

home, appaireled himfelfe in riche attyre, and came againe marchinge towards the court : he was no fooner in fight, but every one received him plaufiblie, and with great submission and reverence. When he came in prefence of the kinge, and other mightie potentats, he kneled down, and ceafed not to kiffe his garments. The king and nobles marveylinge not a litle therat, asked him, wherfore he did fo? Who aunfwered, O noble kinge! it is no marveylye; for that whiche my vertue and knowledge could not doe, my apparell hath brought to paffe: for I, comminge to thy gates in my philosophers weede, was repelled; but having put upon me this riche attyre, I was brought to thy prefence with as great veneration and worfhip as could be. Wherby is to be feene in what deteftation he had the ftinkinge pride of apparell, takeing this occafion to give the king to underftand the inormious abufe thereof, and fo remove the fame as a peftilent evill out of his whole dominion and kingdome. I read of a certen other philosopher that came before a king, who, at the fame tyme, had invited his nobles to a feaft or banquet: the philosopher comming in and feinge no place to spit in (for every place was hanged with cloth of gold, cloth of filver, tinfell, arrace, tapeftrie, and what not) came to the king and spat in his face, faying, It is meet (O king!) that I spit in the fowleft place. This good philosopher (as we may gather) went about to withdraw the king from taking pleasure or delight in the vaine gliftering fhewe, either of apparell or any thing els, but rather to have confideration of his owne filthynes, miferie and finne, not ryfing up into pride, and fputting againft heaven, as he did, by delighting in prowde attyre and gorgeoufe ornaments. Thus we fee the verie painims and

heathen people have from the beginning dispyfed this exceffe of apparell, both in them felves and others, whose examples heerin God graunt we may folowe.

Spud. But you are not able to prove that any good Christians ever fet light by precious attire, but alwayes esteemed it as a speciall ornament to the whole man. As for these heathen, they were fooles, neither is it materiall what they used, or used not.

Philo. I am able to proove that even from the biginning of the world, the chofen and peculiar people of God have contemned proude apparell, as things (not onely) not necessarie, but also as very evilles themselves, and have gone both meanelly and poorely in their usuall attyre. What say you to our grandfather Adam, and Eva our mother? Were they not clothed in peltes, and skins of beasts? Was not this a meane kinde of apparell thinke you? Was it not unfitting to see a woman invested all over in leather? But yet the Lord thought it precious and seemelie ynough for them. What faye you to the noble prophet of the world, Elias? did hee not walke in the solitude of this worlde in a simple playne mantell, or gowne, girded to him with a girdle of leather? Elizeus, the prophet, did he not in a manner the verie fame? And what say you to Samuell, the goulden mouthed prophet, notwithstanding that hee was an arch-prophet, and a chiefe seer of that time? Did he not walke so meanelly, as Saul, seking his fathers asses, could not know him from the reste, but asked him, where was the seers house? This must needs argue that he went not richer then the common fort of people in his time? The children of Israell, beeing the chofen people of God, did they not weare their father's attire fortie yeeres together in the wildernes?

Probation that the former world hath contemned pompouse attyre.

Elias.

Elizeus.

Samuell.

The children of Israell.

John Baptist. Was not John the Baptist clothed with a garment of camel's heare, girded with a thong of the skin of the same, in sted of a girdle or fircinctorie about his loines? Peter, the deere apostle of our Saviour, was not distinct from the rest of his felowes, apostles, by any kinde of rich apparel, for then the maid would not have said, I know thee by thy tung, but rather, by thy apparel. The apostle Paul, writing to the Hebrues, saith that the persecuted Church, bothe in his time and before his dayes, were clothed some in sheep skinnes, and some in gote skinnes, some in camels heare, some in this, and some in that, and some in whatsoever they coulde get; for if it would hide their shameful parts, and kept them from the colde, they thought it sufficient, they required no more. But, to speake in one word for all: did not our Saviour Jesus Christ weare the very same fashion of apparell that his countrey-men used, that is a cote without a seame, either knit or weaved? Which fashions the Palestynians use there yet to this day, without any alteration, or chaunge, as it is thought. This his attyre was not very handsome (one would think): at the least it was not curious, or new fangled, as ours is; but, as the poet well said, *nitimur in vetitum, semper cupimusque negata*, we desire things forbid, and covet things denied us. We lothe the simplicitie of Christe, and abhorring the christian povertie, and godly mediocritie of our forefathers in apparel, are never content except wee have sundry futes of apparel, one divers from an other, so as our presses crack withall, our cofers brust, and our backs sweat with the cariage therof: we must have one sute for the forenoone, another for the afternoone, one for the day, another for the night; one for the workeday, another for the holiday, one

The humility
and poverty of
Christe uppon
earth.

for fommer, another for winter; one of the newe fashion, another of the olde, one of this colour, another of that, one cutte, an other whole, one laced, another without, one of golde, and other of silver, one of filkes and velvets, and another of clothe, with more difference and varietie than I can expresse. God be merciful unto us, and hasten his kingdom, that all imperfections may be doon away!

Superfluitie of apparell with diversitie of fashions.

A perticuler Discription of apparell in Ailgna by degrees.

[*Spud.*] You have borne me in hand of many and greivous abuses reigning in Ailgna, but now (setting aparte these ambagies and superfluous vagaries) I pray you describe unto me more particularly the fundrie abuses in apparell there used; running over by degrees the whole state thereof, that I maye see, as it were, the perfect anatomie of that nation in apparell, whiche thinge I greatlye desire to knowe.

Philo. Your request seemeth both intricate and harde, considering there bee *Tot tantæ mæryadæ inventionum*, so manie and so fonde fashions, and inventions of apparell everie day. But yet, lest I might be judged unwilling to shewe you what pleasure I can, I will assay (*pro virili mea, omnibus nervulis undique extensis*), with all the might and force I can, to satisfie your desire. Wherefore to begin first with their hattes.

Sometimes they were them sharp on the crowne, pearking up like a sphere, or shafte of a steeple, standing a quarter of a yarde above the crowne of their heades; some more, some lesse, as please the phantasies of their mindes. Other some be flat and broad on the crowne, like the battlements of a

The diversify of hattes in Ailgna.

The fundrye
things wherof
hattes be
made.

Wering of
hattes without
bandes.

houfe. An other fort have round crownes, sometimes with one kinde of bande, sometime with an other; nowe blacke, now white, now ruffet, now red, now greene, now yellowe, now this, nowe that, never content with one colour or fashion two dayes to an ende. And thus in vanitie they spende the Lorde his treasure, consuming their golden yeares and silver dayes in wickednes and sin. And as the fashions bee rare and straunge, so are the thinges wherof their hattes be made diverse also; for some are of filke, some of velvet, some of taffetie, some of farcenet, some of wooll; and which is more curious, some of a certaine kinde of fine haire, far fetched and deare bought, you maye bee sure; and so common a thinge it is, that everie servingman, countreyman, or other, even all indifferently, do weare of these hattes. For he is of no account or estimation amongst men, if hee have not a velvet or a taffatie hatte, and that muste bee pincked and cunningly carved of the beste fashion; and good profitable hattes bee they, for the longer you weare them the fewer holes they have. Besides this, of late there is a new fashion of wearing their hattes sprung up amongst them, which they father upon the Frenchmen, namely to weare them without bandes; but how unseemelie (I will not say how assy) a fashion that is, let the wise judge. Notwithstanding, howe ever it bee, if it please them, it shall not displease me. Another fort (as phantasticall as the rest) are content with no kind of hatt without a great bunche of feathers of diverse and fondrie colours, peaking on toppe of their heades, not unlyke (I dare not say) cockscornes, but as sternes of pride and ensignes of vanitie; and these fluttering fayles and fethered flags of defiance to vertue (for so they are) are so advaunced in Ailgna, that every childe hath them in his hat or cap:

many get good living by dying and felling of them, and not a few prove them selves more then fooles in wearing of them.

Spud. These fethers argue the lightnes of their fond imaginations, and plainly convince them of instabilitie and folly; for sure I am, handsome they cannot be, therefore badges of pride they must needs be, which I think none will weare, but such as be like them selves. But to your intended discourse.

Philo. They have great and monstrous ruffles, made either of cambrick, holland, lawn, or els some other the finest cloth that can be got for mony, wherof some be a quarter of a yarde deep, yea, some more, very few lesse; so that they stand a full quarter of a yarde (and more) from their necks, hanging over their shoulder poynts, insted of a vaile. But if Aeolus with her blasts, or Neptune with his stormes chaunce to hit upon the crasie bark of their brused ruffles, then they goe flip flap in the winde, like rags flying abroad, and lye upon their shoulders like the dishecloute of a flut. But wot you what? the devil, as he in the fulnes of his malice, first invented these great ruffles, so hath hee now found out also two great stayes to beare up and maintaine this his kingdome of great ruffles (for the devil is king and prince over all the children of pride): the one arch or pillar wherby his kingdome of great ruffles is underpropped, is a certaine kinde of liquide matter which they call starch, wherein the devill hath willed them to wash and dive his ruffles wel, which, when they be dry, wil then stand stiffe and inflexible about their necks. The other pillar is a certain device made of wyers, crested for the purpose, whipped over either with gold thred, silver or silk, and this he calleth a supportasse,

Great ruffles deformed and ill favored.

Two arches or pillars to underproppe the kingdom of great ruffles withall, *vide licet* supportassy and starch.

or underpropper. This is to be applyed round about their necks under the ruffe, upon the outside of the band, to beare up the whole frame and body of the ruffe from falling and hanging down.

Spud. This is a device passing all the devices that ever I saw or heard of. Then I perceive the devill not onely inventeth mischief, but also ordaineth instrumentall meanes to continue the same. These bands are so chargeable (as I suppose) that but fewe have of them: if they have, they are better monyed then I am.

Every pesant
hath his stately
bands and
monsterouse
ruffles, how
costly soever
they bee.

Philo. So few have them, as almost none is without them; for every one, how meane or simple soever they be otherwise, will have of them three or foure apiece for fayling. And as though camericke, holland, lawne, and the finest cloth that may bee got any where for money, were not good inough, they have them wrought all over with filke woorke, and peradventure laced with golde and silver, or other costly lace of no small price. And whether they have argente to mayntayne this geare withall, or not, it forceth not muche, for they have it by one meane or other, or els they will eyther sell or morgage their landes (as they have good store) on Suters hill and Stangate hole, with losse of their lyves at Tiburne in a rope.

Spud. The state and condition of that land must needes be miserable, and in tyme growe to great scarcitie and dearth, where is such vayne prodigalitie, and excesse of all thynges used.

The shirts
used in Ailgna.

Philo. Their shirtes, which all in a manner doe weare (for if the nobilitie and gentry onely did weare them, it were fomedea more tollerable) are eyther of camericke, holland, lawne, or els of the finest cloth that maye bee got. And all

these kindes of fhirts everie one now doth weare alike : fo as it may be thoght our forefathers have made their bandes and ruffes (if they had any at all) of groffer cloth and bafier ftuffe then the worft of our fhirtes are made of now a dayes. And thefe fhurts (fometimes it happeneth) are wrought through out with nedle work of filke, and fuche like, and curioullie ftitched with open feame, and many other knackes befides, mo then I can describe.

Spud. Thefe be goodly fhurts indeed, and fuch yet as will not chafe their tender fkinnes, nor ulcerat their lillye white bodyes ; or if they do, it wil not be much to their greevances, I dare be bound. Is it anie marvell, *fi cristas erigant et cornua atollant*, if they ftand uppon their pantofles, and hoyfe up their fayles on highe, havinge thefe dyamond fhurts on their delicate bodies : but how foever it is, I gather by your words that this muft needs be a nice and curious people, who are thus nuffeled up in fuch daintie attyre.

Philo. It is very true, for this their curiofity, and nicenes in apparell (as it were) tranfnatureth them, makinge them weake, tender and infirme, not able to abide fuch fharp conflicts and bluftering ftormes as many other people, both abroade farre from them, and in their confines nie to them, do daylie fustaine. I have hard my father, with other wyfe fages affirme, that in his tyme, within the compaffe of foure or fyve fcore yeeres, when men went clothed in black or white frize coates, in hofen of hufwives carzie of the fame colore, that the fheep bore them (the want of making and wering of which clothe, together with the exceffive wering of filks, velvets, fatens, damasks, taffeties, and fuch like, hath and doth make many a thoufand in Ailgna as poore

Nicenes of
apparell mak-
eth the body
tender.

Our predeceffors waringe meaner apparell were stronge[r] than we.

mendicants to begge their bread) wherof some weare ftrait to the thigh, otherfome litle bigger: and when they ware fhurts of hempe or flax (but now thefe are to groffe, our tender ftomacks cannot eafilye difgeft fuch roughe and crude meats) men weare ftronger than we, helthfuller, fayrer complectioned, longer lyvinge, and finallye, ten tymes harder than we, and able to beare out any forowe or paynes whatfoever. For be fure, this pampering of our bodies makes them weker, tenderer and nether, than otherwyfe they would be, if they were ufed to hardneffe, and more fubject to receive anye kind of infection or maladie; and rather abbreviat our dayes by manye yeres, than extenuate our lives one minut of an houre.

Spud. I thinke no leffe; for how ftronge men were in tymes paff, how long they lyved, and how helthfull they weare before fuche nicenes, and vayne pamperinge curiofitie was invented, we may reade, and many that lyve at this daye can testifie. But now, through our fond toyes and nice inventions, we have brought our felves into fuch pufillanimitie and effeminat condition, as we may feeme rather nice dames and yonge gyrles than puiffante agents or manlie men, as our forefathers have bene.

The monftrous dublets in Ailgna.

Philo. Their dublettes are noe leffe monftrous than the reffe; for now the fafhion is to have them hang downe to the middeft of their theighes, or at leaft to their privie members, beeing fo harde-quilted, and ftuffed, bombafted and fewed, as they can verie hardly eyther ftoupe downe, or decline them felves to the grounde, foe ftyffe and fturdy they ftand about them.

Now, what handfomnes can be in thefe dubblettes whiche ftand on their bellies like, or mucche bigger than, a mans

codpeece (so as their bellies are thicker than all their bo-
dyes befyde) let wyse men judge ; for for my parte hand-
somnes in them I see none, and muche les profyte. And to
be plaine, I never saw any weare them, but I supposd him to
be a man inclined to gourmandice, gluttonie, and fuche like.

Great bellied
dublets betok-
en gourmand-
ice, gluttonie,
and fuch like.

For what may these great bellies signifie els than either
they are fuche, or els are affected that way ? This is the
truest signification that I could ever presage or divyne of
them. And this may everye one judge of them that seeth
them ; for certaine I am there never was any kinde of appa-
rell ever invented that could more disproportion the body
of man than these dublets with great bellies, hanging down
beneath their *pudenda* (as I have said), and stuffed with
foure, five or six pound of bombast at the least. I say no-
thing of what their dublets be made, some of faten, taffatie,
silke, grogram, chamlet, gold, silver, and what not ; flased,
jagged, cut, carved, pincked and laced with all kinde of
costly lace of divers and fundry colours, for if I shoulde
stand upon these particularities, rather time then matter
would be wanting.

Dublettes of
everie fashion.

Spud. These be the strangest doublets that ever I heard
of ; and the furdest from handsomnes in every respect, unlesse
I be deceived.

Philo. Then have they hosen, which as they be of divers
fashions, so are they of fundry names. Some be called
French-hose, some gally-hose, and some Venitians. The
French-hose are of two divers makings, for the common
French-hose (as they list to call them) containeth length
and breadth, and fidenes sufficient, and is made very round.
The other containeth neither length, breadth nor fidenes
(beeing not past a quarter of a yarde fide) wherof some be

Hosen of
diverse and
fundry fash-
ions.

paned, cut and drawne out with costly ornaments, with canions annexed reaching down beneath the knees.

The gally-hofen are made very large and wide, reaching downe to their knees onely, with three or foure guardes a peece laid down along either hofe. And the Venetian hofen, they reach beneath the knee to the gartering place of the leg, where they are tyed finely with filk points, or some such like, and laied on also with rewes of lace, or gardes as the other before. And yet notwithstanding all this is not sufficient, except they be made of filk, velvet, faten, damask, and other such precious things beside: yea, every one, servingman and other inferiour to them, in every condition wil not sticke to flaunte it out in these kinde of hofen, with all other their apparel futable therunto.

The great ex-
cesse used in
hofen.

In times past kings (as olde historiographers in their bookes yet extant doe recorde) would not disdaine to weare a paire of hofen of a noble, tenne shillings, or a marke price, with all the rest of their apparel after the same rate; but now it is a small matter to bestowe twentie nobles, ten pound, twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a hundred pound of one paire of breeches. (God be mercifull unto us!)

Spud. This is a wunderfull excesse as ever I hearde of, woorthy with the swoorde of justice rather to be punished, then with paper and pen to be so gentlie confuted.

The diversity
of neither-
stocks worne
in Ailgna.

Philo. Then have they nether-stocks to these gay hofen, not of cloth (though never so fine) for that is thought to base, but of Jarnsey worsted, filk, thred, and such like, or els at the least of the finest yarn that can be, and so curiouslye knit with open seam down the leg, with quirks and clocks about the ankles, and sometime (haply) interlaced with gold or silver threds, as is wonderful to behold. And to

fuch infolency and outrage it is now growen, that every one (almost) though otherwise verie poor, having scarce fortie shillings of wages by the yeer, will be sure to have two or three paire of these filke neither-stocks, or els of the finest yarne that may be got, though the price of them be a ryall or twentie shillings or more, as commonly it is; for how can they be lesse, when as the very knitting of them is worth a noble or a royall, and some much more? The time hath beene when one might have clothed all his body well for lesse than a pair of these neither-stocks wil cost.

Spud. I have feldome heard the like: I think verely that Sathan, prince of darknes and father of pride, is let loose in the land, els it could never rage as it dooth; for the like pride (I am fully perswaded) is not used under the sonne of any nation or people how barberous so ever: wherfore wo be to this age, and thrife accursed be these dayes, which bring forth such sowre frutes; and unhappie are that people whom Sathan hath so bewitched and captived in sin. *The Lord holde his hand of mercy over us!*

The miserie of these daies.

Philo. To these their nether-stocks they have corked shooes, pinsnets, and fine pantoffles, which beare them up a finger or two from the ground; wherof some be of white leather, some of black, and some of red, some of green, raced, carved, cut, and stitched all over with silk, and laid on with golde, silver, and such like: yet, notwithstanding, to what good uses serve these pantoffles, except it be to wear in a private house, or in a mans chamber to keepe him warme? (for this is the only use wherto they best serve in my judgement) but to go abroad in them, as they are now used al together, is rather a let or hinderance to a man then otherwise; for shall he not be faine to knock and spurn at every stone, wall, or

Corked shooes, pantoffles and pinsnets.

Pantoffles and slippers are let to those that go abroad in them.

Pantoffles un-
easie to go in.

poste to keep them on his feet? Wherefore, to disclose even the bowels of my judgement unto you, I think they be rather worne abroad for nicenes, then either for any ease which they bring (for the contrary is moste true), or any hanfomnes which is in them. For how should they be easie, when as the heele hangeth an inch or two over the flipper on the ground? Infomuch as I have knowen divers mens legs swel with the fame. And handsome how should they be, when as with their flipping and flapping up and down in the dirte they exaggerate a mountain of mire, and gather a heape of clay and baggage together, loding the wearer with importable burthen.

Spud. Those kinde of pantoffles can neither be so handsome, nor yet so warme as other or usuall commom shoes be, I think. Therefore the weringe of them abroad rather importeth a nicenes (as you say) in them that weare them, than bringeth any other commoditie, unlesse I be deceived.

The varytie
of coates and
jerkins.

Philo. Their coates and jerkins, as they be diverse in colors, so they be diverse in fashions; for some be made with colors, some without, some close to the bodie, some loose, covering the whole body downe to the theighe, like baggs or sacks that weare drawn over them, hidinge the dimensions and proportions of the body: some are buttoned downe the brest, some under the arme, and some downe the back; some with flappes over the brest, some without, some with great sleeves, some with small, and some with non at all; some pleated and crested behind and curiously gathered, some not so; and how many dayes (I might say houres, or minuts of houres, in the yeare) so many sortes of apparell some one man will have, and thinketh it good provision in

faire weather to lay up against a storme! But if they would consider that their clothes (except those that they weare upon their backs) be non of theirs, but the poores, they would not heap up their presses and wardrobes as they do. Do they think that it is lawfull for them to have millions of fundry fortes of apparell lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Jesus Christe die at their doores for wante of clothinge? God commaundeth in his law, that there be no miserable poore man, nor begger amongst us, but that every one be provided for and maintained of that abundance which God hath blessed us withal. But we thinke it a great matter if we geve them an old ragged coate, dublet, or paire of hosen, or els a penny or two, wheras not withstanding we flow in abundance of all things. Than we thinke we are halfe way to heaven, and we need to do no more. If we geve them a pease of brown bread, a messe of porredge (nay, the stocks and prisson, with whippinge cheare now and than, is the best portion of almes which many gentlemen geve) at our dores, it is counted meritorious, and a worke of superogation, when we fare full delicatelye oure selves, feeding on many a dainty dish. There is a certen citye in Ailgna called Munidnol, where as the poore lye in the streets upon pallets of straw, and well if they have that to[o], or els in the mire and dirt, as commonlie it is seene, having neither house to put in their heads, covering to keep them from the cold, nor yet to hide their shame withall, penny to buy them sustenance, nor any thing els, but are permitted to dye in the streets like dogges, or beasts, without anie mercie or compassion shewed to them at all. And if anye be sicke of the plague (as they call it) or any other disease, their maisters and maistres are so impudent (being,

The poore
ought to be
provided for.

Our smal re-
gard to the
poore.

Cold charitie
to the poore.

The Turkish
impietie of
some towards
the poore
diseased.

it should seeme, at a league with Sathan, a covenante with hell, and as it were obliged themselves by obligation to the devil never to have to do with the works of mercy) as straight way thei throw them out of their dores, and so being caried forth, either in carts or otherwyse, and thrown in the streets, there they end their dayes most miserably. Truly, brother, if I had not seen it I would scarcely have thought that the like Turkish cruelty had bene used in all the world. But they say *unus testis oculatus plus valet quam mille auriti*, one eye witnesse is better to be belyved than a thousand eare witnesse besydes. But to leave these excursions, and to returne from whence I have digressed, I think it the best; for I am perswaded, they will as much respect my words (or amend their maners) as the wicked world did at the preaching of our Saviour Christe Iesus; that is, just nothing at all.

Spud. Well then, seeing they are such a stifnecked people, leave them to the Lord; and proceed to your former tractation.

The fundry
fashions of
clokes.

Philo. They have clokes there also in nothing discrepante from the rest, of dyverse and fundry colors, white, red, tawnie, black, greene, yellowe, russet, purple, violet, and infynite other colors: some of cloth, silk, velvet, taffetie, and such lyke, whereof some be of the Spanish, French, and Dutch fashion: some short, scarcely reachinge to the gyrdlestead, or waiste, some to the knee, and other some traylinge uppon the ground (almost) liker gownes than clokes. These clokes must be garded, laced, and thorowly faced; and somtimes so lyned as the inner side standeth almost in as much as the outside: some have sleeves, other some have none; some have hoodes to pull over the head, some have none; some are

hanged with points and tassels of gold, silver, or filk, some without al this But how foeuer it be, the day hath bene when one might have bought him two clokes for lesse than now he can have one of these clokes made for, they have fuch store of workmanship bestowed uppon them.

Spud. I am sure they never learned this at the hands of our Proconsul, and chief Provost, Christ Jesus, nor of any other that ever lyved godly in the Lord ; but rather out of the deceiptfull forge of their own braines have they drawn this cursed anatomy to their owne destruction in the end, except the[y] repente.

The counting
house of all
evill is the
braine.

Philo. They have also bootehose which are to be wondered at; for they be of the fynest cloth that may be got, yea, fine enough to make any band, ruffe, or shurt needful to be worn: yet this is bad inough to were next their gresie boots. And would God this weare all: but (oh, phy for shanie!) they must be wrought all over, from the gartering place upward, with nedle worke, clogged with filk of all colors, with birds, foules, beasts, and antiques purtrayed all over in comlie forte. So that I have knowen the very nedle work of some one payre of these bootehose to stand, some in iiij pound, vi pound, and some in x pound a peece. Besides this, they are made so wyde to draw over all, and so longe to reach up to the waste, that as little, or lesse, clothe would make one a reasonable large shurte. But tush! this is nothing in comparifon of the reste.

The vain ex-
cesse of bote
hosen.

Spud. I would thinke that boote hosen of groffer lynnyn, or else of wollen clothe, weare both warmer to ride in, as comly as the other, though not so fine, and a great deal more durable. And as for those geugawfes wherwith you say they be blaunched and trimmed, they serve to no end

The varitie of
fashions con-
vince us of
follie.

but to feade the wanton eyes of gazing fools, and pla[i]nly argue the vertiginie, and instability of their more than fantastical brains.

Swords and
daggers gilt
and vernished.

Philo. To these have they their rapiers, swards and daggers, gilt twise or thrise over the hilts, with scabberds and sheathes of velvet or the like; for leather, though it be more profittable and as seemely, yet wil it not carie such a porte or countenance like the other. And wil not these golden swards and daggers almost apale a man (though otherwise never so stout a martialist) to have any deling with them? for either to that end they be worne, or els other swards, daggers and rapiers of bare yron and Steele were as handsome as they, and much more conducive to that end whereto swards and rapiers should serve, namely, for a mans lawful and godly defence against his adversarie in time of necessitie. But wherfore they be so clogged with gold and silver I know not, nor yet wherto this excessse serveth I see not; but certain I am a great shewe of pride it is, an infallible token of vain glorie, and a greivous offence to God, so prodigallie and licentiouslie to lavish forth his treasure, for which we must render accounts at the day of judgement, when it shall be saide to everie one, *Redde rationem vilicationis tuæ*. Come, give accounts of thy stewardship.

Lucc. 16.

A particulare Discription of the Abuses of Womens apparell in Ailgna.

Thus havinge geven thee a superficial viewe, or small tast (but not discovered the hundreth part) of the guyfes of Ailgna in mens apparel, and of the abuses contained in the

fame, now I wil, with like celeritie of matter, impart unto thee the guyse and feuerall abuses of the apparell of women there used also : wherefore, geve attentive eare.

Sp. My eares be prest to heare : begin when you wil, and truely herin you shal pleasur me much, for I have greatly desired to know thorowly the state of the land, even *a crepundiis* (as they say) from my tender yeres, for the great prayse I have hard therof. Wherefore, I pray you to proceed in the same, and though I be unable with any benefit to countervail your great pains, yet the Lord, I doubt not, will supplie my want.

Ph. The Lord our God is a mercifull God, and a bountifull rewarder of every one that trusteth in him ; but yet (such is the magnificency and liberalitie of that gentle sex) that I trust I shall not be unrewarded at their hands, if to be called a thousand knaves be a sufficient guerdon for my pains. But though it wilbe a corrosive to their hautie stomacks, and a *nippitatum* to their tender breasts to heare their dirtie dregs ript up and cast in their diamond faces, yet hoping that they, seeing the horreur of their impieties, and tragicall abuses laide open to the world (for now they sleep in the grave of oblivion) wil at last, like good convertes and penitentiaries of Christe Jesus, leave of their wickednes, call for mercie at the hands of God, repent and amend. I will proceed to my intended purpose.

The women of Ailgna use to colour their faces with certain oyles, liquors, unguentes and waters made to that end, whereby they think their beautie is greatly decored : but who seethe not that their soules are thereby deformed, and they brought deeper into the displeasure and indignation of the Almighty, at whose voice the earth dooth tremble, and

Coloring of
faces with
oyntments and
waters.

Adulteration
of the Lord
his workman-
ship in his
creatures.

at whose presence the heavens shall liquifie and melt away. Doo they think thus to adulterate the Lord his workmanship, and to be without offence? Doo they not know that he is *Zelotipus*, a jelous God, and cannot abide any alteration of his woorkes, otherwise then he hath commaunded?

Yf an artificer or craftsman shoulde make anything belonging to his art or science, and a cobler should presume to correct the same, would not the other think him self abused, and judge him woorthy of reprehension?

And thinkest thou (oh woman!) to escape the judgement of God, who hath fashioned thee to his glory, when thy great, and more than presumptuous, audacitie dareth to alter, and chaunge his woorkmanship in thee?

They that
colour their
faces deny the
Lord of glory
to bee true
God, and so
no God at all.

Thinkest thou that thou canst make thy self fairer then God, who made us all? These must needs be their inventions, or els they would never go about to colour their faces with such fibberfawces. And these beeing their inventions, what can derogate more from the majestie of God in his creation? For in this dooing, they plainly convince the Lord of untrueth in his word, who faith he made man glorious, after his owne likenes, and the fayrest of all other terrestiall creatures. If he be thus faire, what need they make them fayrer? Therefore this their colouring of their faces importeth (as by probable conjecture may be presupposed) that they think them selves not faire enough, and then must God needs be untrue in his woord.

And also they deny the Lord to be either merciful or almightie, or bothe, and so consequently no God at all; for if he could not have made them faire, then is hee not almightie; and if hee could and would not, then is hee not a merciful God; and so every way they fall into the sinck of

offence, beeing ashamed of the good creation of the Lord in them; but it is to be feared least at the day of judgement the Lord wil be ashamed of them, and in his wrath denounce this heavie and inevitable sentence condemnatorie against them: "Depart from mee, you curfed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels: I knowe you not: (I fay) departe, for you were ashamed of mee, and of my creation in you."

Sentence condemnatory against those that coulour their faces.

Spud. Wherof doo they make these waters, and other unctions wherwith they besmeare their faces, can you tel?

Philo. I am not so skilful in their matters of pride, but I holde this for a maxime, that they are made of many mixtures, and fundry compounded simples, bothe farre fetched and deer bought, cunningly couched together, and tempered with many goodly condiments and holsome confecti-
ons, I warrant you; els you may be sure they would not applye them to their amorous faces, for feare of harming or blemishing the fame.

S. Ciprian, amongst all the rest, faith, a woman, thorow painting and dying of her face, sheweth her self to be more then whorish. For (faith hee) shee hath corrupted and defaced (like a filthie strumpet or brothel) the woorkmanship of God in her: what is this els but to turne trueth into falshood with painting and fibbersawces, whereas the Lord faith, "Thou canst not make one haire white or black." In an other place hee faith, *Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter quam creavit Deus, metuant ne, cum dies resurrectionis venerit, artifex creaturam tuam non recognoscat.* Those which paint or colour them selves in this world otherwise then God hath made them, let them feare, least when the day of judgement commeth, the Lorde wil

Invectives of the Fathers against paynting and coulouring of faces.

not know them for his creatures. Againe, *Feminæ crines suos inficiunt malo præfagio, capillos enim flammeos auspicari non metuunt*. Whosoever doo color their faces, or their haire, with any unnaturall collour, they begin to prognosticate of what colour they shalbe in hel.

S. Ambrose faith that from the coullouring of faces spring the inticements to vices, and they which color their faces doo purchase to them selves the blot and stain of chaftitie.

No painting
can make any
to seem fairer,
but fowler.

For what a dotage is it (faith hee) to chaunge thy naturall face which God hath made thee for a painted face, which thou hast made thy self? If thou beest faire, why paintest thou thy self to seeme fairer? and if thou be not faire, why doost thou hippocrittically desire to seeme faire, and art nothing lesse? Can those things which, besides that they be filthie, doo cary the brand of God his curffe upon their backs for ever, make thee seeme fayrer? I could shew you the sharp invections, and grounded reasons of many moe, as of Augstine, Hierome, Chrysostome, Gregorie, Peter Martyr, Gualter, and of an infinite number moe; yea, of all generally since the beginning of the world, against this whorish and brothellous painting and colouring of faces; but to avoid prolixitie I will omit them, deferring them to further oportunitie, for *pauca sapienti*, to a wiseman few woords are sufficient.

Colouring of
faces the devils
net.

Spud. It must needs be graunted, that the dying and coulouring of faces with artificiall colours, and unnaturall oyntments, is moste offensive to God, and derogatorie to his Majestie: for doo they think that the God of all glorie, and who only decketh and adorneth the sun, the moon, the starres, and all the hoast of heaven with unspeakable glorie,

and incomparable beautie, cannot make them beautiful and faire enough (if it please him) without their fibberfawces? And what are they els then the devils inventions, to intangle poore foules in the nets of perdition?

Philo. Then followeth the trimming and tricking of their heds in laying out their hair to the shewe, which of force must be curled, frised and crisped, laid out (a world to see!) on wreathes and borders from one eare to an other. And least it should fall down, it is under propped with forks, wyers, and I can not tel what, rather like grime sterne monsters, then chaste christian matrones. Then, on the edges of their bolstred hair (for it standeth crested round about their frontiers, and hanging over their faces like pendices with glasse windowes on every side) there is layd great wreathes of gold and silver, curiously wrought and cunningly applied to the temples of their heads. And for feare of lacking any thing to set forth their pride withal, at their hayre, thus wreathed and crested, are hanged bugles (I dare not say bables) ouches, rings, gold, silver, glasse, and such other gewgawes and trinkets besides, which, for that they be innumerable, and I unskilfull in womens termes, I can not easily recount. But God give them grace to give over these vanities, and studie to adorn their heads with the incorruptible ornaments of vertue and true godlynesse.

Spud. The apostle Paul (as I remember) commaundeth women to cherish their heyre, saying that it is an ornament to them; and therfor me think this abuse of curling and laying it out (if eyther were lawfull) is much more tollerable than dying their faces.

Philo. If curling, and laying out of their own naturall

Trimming of
their heds.

Simia erit
simia, etiam si
aurea gestat
infignia.

Laying out of
their haire.

Gold wreathes
circumgyring
the temples of
their heads.

Gewgawes
hanged about
their frontiers.

Curling and
crisping and
laying out of
heyre.

Bought heyre
and colored
used to be
worn.

heyre weare all (which is impious, and at no hand lawfull, notwithstanding for it is the ensigne of pride, and the stern of wantonnes to all that behould it) it were the lesse matter; but they are not simply contente with their owne haire, but buy other heyre, dying it of what color they list themselves: and this they were in the same order as you have heard, as though it weare their owne naturall heir: and uppon the other side, if any have heyre which is not faire inough, than will they dye it into diuerse colors, almost chaunginge the substance into accidentes by their dyvelish, and more than thrise cursed deuyses. So, wheras their heire was geuen them as a signe of subjection, and therefore they were commaunded to cherish the same, now they have made (as it were) a metamorphosis of it, making it an ornament of pride, and destruction to them selves for ever, except they repent.

Spud. This is a styfnecked people, and a rebellious, I see well, that thus dareth, in everie respecte, to pervert the straight wayes of the Lord, digginge up to themselves cesterne of iniquity, and pittes of aduersity, which in th' end, without the great mercy of God, will be their utter confusion.

Capitall orna-
ments for the
head.

Philo. Than, on toppes of these stately turrets (I meane their goodly heads wherin is more vanitie than true philosophie now and than) stand their other capitall ornaments, as French hood, hat, cap, kercher, and suche like; wherof some be of velvet, some of taffatie, some (but few) of woll, some of this fashion, some of that, and some of this color, some of that, according to the variable fantasies of their serpentine minds. And to such excesse is it growen as every artificers wyfe (almost) wil not stick to goe in her hat

of velvet everye day, every marchants wyfe and meane gentlewoman in her French hood, and everye poore cottagers daughter in her taffatie hat, or els of woll at least, well lined with filk, velvet or taffatie. But how they come by this (so they have it) they care not ; who payeth for it they regard not, nor yet what hurt booth to them selves and others it dooth bring, they feare not, but runne daylie *a malo ad pejus* (as they say) from one mischiefe to an other, untill they have filled up the mesure of their evill to their owne perdition at that day.

Hattes of
velvets, taf-
faty worn in
common.

Trahit sua
quenque
voluptas.

They have also other ornaments besydes these to furnish forth their ingenious heads, which they cal (as I remember) cawles, made netwyse, to th' ende, as I thinke, that the clothe of gold, cloth of silver, or els tinfell, (for that is the worst) wherwith their heads are covered and attyred withall underneath their cawles may appeare, and shewe it selfe in the bravest manner. Soe that a man that seethe them (there heads glister and shine in suche forte) wold thinke them to have golden heads.

Cawles made
netwyse.

Golden heads
fraught with
leaden wit.

Thus lavishe they forth the goods of the Lorde, which are none of their owne (but lent them for a tyme) uppon pride and naughtinesse, delighting (as it seemeth) in nothing so much as in the stincking puddle of vanitie and slime, which will be their owne decay at the last. Another sort of dissolute minions and wanton Sempronians (for I can term them no better) are so far bewitched, as they are not ashamed to make holes in their eares, wherat they hang rings, and other jewels of gold and precious stones. But what this signifieth in them I will hould my peace, for the thing it selfe speaketh sufficiently. There is a certen kinde of people in the orientall parte of the world (as writers affirme), that are such *philautoi*,

Making holes
in their eares
to hang rings
and jewels by.

A people who
cut their skin
to set precious
stones in
them selves.

lovers of them selves, and so prowde with all, that, having plenty of precious stones and margarets amongst them, they cut and launce their skinnes and fleshe, setting therein these precious stones, to the end they maye glister and shine to the eye.

So, except these women weare minded to tread their pathes, and follow their direfull wayes in this curfed kind of unhard of pride, I wonder what they meane.

But because this is not so much frequented amongst women as men, I shall say no more therof, untill further occasion be offred.

Spud. Except it weare a people wedded to the devills eldest daughter Pride (for I thinke chaſtitie amongst them maye dwell a virgin for any that wil marry her), and given over of God, I never heard the like. I am perſwaded neither the libertines, the epicures, nor yet the vile atheists, ever exceeded this people in pride, nor the wickednes of them might ever counterpeaſe with the wickednes of these people: *God be merciful unto them!*

Great ruffes,
neckerchers,
and partlets
used of wo-
men.

Supportaffes
the pillers of
pride.

Minor ruffs.

Philo. You heare not the tenth parte, for no pen is able ſo wel to diſcribe it, as the eye is to diſcry it. The women there uſe great ruffes, and neckerchers of holland, lawne, camerick, and ſuch cloth, as the greateſt thred ſhall not be ſo bigge as the leaſt haire that is: then, leaſt they ſhould fall down, they are ſmeared and ſtarched in the devils liquore, I meane *ſtarch*; after that, dryed with great diligence, ſtreaked, patted, and rubbed very nicely, and ſo applyed to their goodly necks, and, withall, underpropped with ſupportaffes (as I tolde you before) the ſtatelie arches of pride: beyond all this they have a further fetch, nothing inferiour to the reſt; as, namely, three or foure degrees of minor

ruffles, placed *gradatim*, step by step, one beneath another, and all under the maister devil ruffe. The skyrts, then, of these great ruffles are long and fide every way, pleted and crested full curiously, God wot. Then, last of all, they are either clogged with golde, silver, or filk lace of stately price, wrought all over with needle work, speckled and sparkled heer and there with the sonne, the moone, the starres, and many other antiquities straunge to beholde. Some are wrought with open woorke down to the midst of the ruffe and further, some with purled lace so cloyd, and other gew-gawes so pestred, as the ruffe is the least parte of it self. Sometimes they are pinned up to their eares, sometimes they are suffered to hang over their shoulders, like windmil sayles fluttering in the winde; and thus every one pleaseth her self with her foolish devices, for *suus cuiusque crepitus sibi bene olet*, as the proverb saith: every one thinketh his own wayes best, though they leade to distruction of body and soule, which I wish them to take heed of.

The great
curiosity of
ruffs and
neckerchers.

Spud. As in a camelion are said to be all coulours, save white, so I think in these people are all things els, save vertue and Christian sobrietie. Proteus, that monster, could never chaunge him self into so many fourmes and shapes as these women doo: belike they have made an obligation with hel, and are at agreement with the devil, els they would never outrage thus, without either feare of God or respect to their weak bretheren, whom heerin they offend.

Proteus.

Philo. The women also there have dublets and jerkins, as men have heer, buttoned up the brest, and made with wings, welts, and pinions on the shoulder points, as mans apparel is for all the world; and though this be a kinde of attire appropriate onely to man, yet they blush not to wear

Women wear-
ing dublets
and jerkins.

it, and if they could as wel chaunge their sex, and put on the kinde of man, as they can weare apparel assigned onely to man, I think they would as verely become men indeed, as now they degenerat from godly, sober women in wearing this wanton lewd kinde of attire, proper onely to man.

A curse to
them that
weare contrary
apparell to
their sex.

It is written in the 22 of Deuteronomie, that what man so ever weareth womans apparel is accursed, and what woman weareth mans apparel is accursed also. Now, whether they be within the bands and lymits of that curse, let them see to it them selves. Our apparell was given us as a signe distinctive to discern betwixt sex and sex, and therefore one to weare the apparel of another sex is to participate with the same, and to adulterate the veritie of his owne kinde. Wherefore these women may not improperly be called *Hermaphroditi*, that is, monsters of bothe kindes, half women, half men.

Hermaphro-
diti.

Spud. I never read nor heard of any people, except drunken with Cyrces cups, or poysoned with the exercisens of Medea, that famous and renoumed forcereffe, that ever woulde weare fuche kinde of attire as is not onely stinking before the face of God, offensive to man, but also pointeth out to the whole world the venereous inclination of their corrupt conversation.

The diversity
of gounes.

Philo. There gounes be no lesse famous also ; for some are of filk, some of velvet, some of grogram, some of taffetie, some of scarlet, and some of fine cloth, of ten, twentie, or fortie shillings a yard. But if the whole gowne be not filke or velvet, then the same shall be layed with lace, two or three fingers broade, all over the gowne, or els the most parte.

Simiæ in
purpuris.

Or, if not so (as lace is not fine enough sometimes), then it must be garded with great gardes of velvet, four or five

fingers broad at the leaft, and edged with coftly lace ; and as thefe gownes be of divers and fundrie colors, fo are they of divers fashions, changing with the moon, for fome be of the new fafhion, fome of the olde, fome of this fafhion, and fome of that, fome with sleeves hanging down to their fskirts, trayling on the ground, and caft over their shoulders, like cow-tayles. Coftly gownes.

Some have sleeves much shorter, cut up the arme, and pointed with filk-ribons very gallantly, tyed with true-looves knottes (for fo they call them).

Some have capes reaching downe to the middest of their backs, faced with velvet, or els with fome fine wrought filk taffatie at the leaft, and fringed about very bravely ; and (to shut up all in a word) fome are pleated and ryveled down the back wonderfully, with more knacks than I can declare. Than have they petticots of the beft cloth that can be bought, and of the faireft dye that can be made. And fometimes they are not of cloth neither, for that is thought to bafe, but of fcarlet, grogram, taffatie, filk, and fuche like, fringed about the fskirts with filk fringe of chaungable coloure. But which is more vayn, of whatsoever their petticots be, yet muft they have kirtles (for fo they call them), eyther of filk, velvet, grogram, taffatie, faten, or fcarlet, bordered with gards, lace, fringe, and I cannot tell what befides. So that when they have all thefe goodly robes uppon them, women feeme to be the fmalleft part of themfelves, not naturall women, but artificiall women ; not women of flesh and blod, but rather puppits or mawmets of rags and clowtes compact together. So farre hath this cancker of pride eaten into the body of the common welth, that every poore yeoman his daughter, every husband man his daughter, and every cot- Petticots.
Kirtles.
Women the
leaft part of
themfelves.

Poore mens
daughters
excesse.

tager his daughter, will not spare to flaunt it out in such gownedes, petticoats, and kirtles as these. And notwithstanding that their parents owe a brase of hundred pounds more than they are worth, yet will they have it, *quo jure quave injuria*, eyther by hooke or crooke, by right or wrong, as they say, wherby it commeth to passe that one can scarcely know who is a noble woman, who is an honorable or worshippingfull woman from them of the meaner forte.

Parents to
blame.

Spud. Their parents and freinds are muche to be blamed for suffering them to go in suche wanton attyre. They should not allowe them such large pittance, nor suffer them to measure their apparell after their own licentious yardes of felse will, and wicked desires.

The impud-
ency of proud
harlots.

Philo. Than they shall be sure never to have good day with them, for they are so impudent that, all be it their poore parents have but one cow, horse, or sheep, they wil never let them rest til they be sould to maintain them in their braveries, past all tongue can tell. And, to say truth, some parents (worthie to be inaugured with the lawrell crowne of triple follie,) are so buxome to their shamlesse desires, and so exorable to their prostitute requests, that they graunt to their too too nice daughters more than they can desire themselves, taking a singular felicity and surmounting pleasure in ff[e]ing them to go plumed and decked in the feathers of deceptfull vanity.

Our remisse
lenitie of pa-
rents to their
children.

Sp. This over great lenitie and remisse libertie in the education of youthe, in respect of the event and successe in the end, maye rather be counted an extrem cruelty, than a fatherly pitie of them towards their children; for what maketh them so soone whores, strumpets, and bawdes, as cockering of them doth?

What maketh them apt and prone to all kind of naughtinesse but this? Nothing in the world soe muche; for give a wild horse the libertie of the head never so little, and he will runne headlonge to thyne and his owne destruction also.

What maketh
whores and
strumpets.

So long as a sprigge, twist, or braunche is yong, it is flexible and bowable to any thing a man can desire; but if we tarie till it be a great tree, it is inflexible and unbowable. If wax be taken whylest it is hote, anye character maye be easelye imprinted, but tarying till it be hard, it receiveth no printe at all.

So, correct children in their tender yeres, and you may bow them to what good lore you will your selfe; but tarie till they be old, than is it to late, as experience teacheth daylie.

Philo. Their neitherstockes, in like maner, are either of filke gearnfey, worsted, crewell, or, at least, of as fyne yarn, thread, or cloth, as is possible to be had, cunningly knit and curiously indented in every point: wherto they have korked shooes, pinsnets, pantoffles, and flippers, some of black velvet, some of white, some of greene, and some of yellowe; some of Spanish leather, and some of English lether, stitched with filk, and imbrodered with gold and silver all over the foote, with other gewgawes innumerable. All which if I should endeouvre my selfe to expresse, I might with more facilitye number the sands of the sea, the starres of the skye, or the grasse uppon the earth, so infinit and innumerable be their abuses. For weare I never so experte an arithmetician, or mathematician, I weare never capable of the halfe of them, the devill brocheth soe many new fashions every day.

Netherstocks
of gernsey or
filk.

Corked shooes,
pinsnets, pan-
toffles, and
such like, for
women.

The innumer-
able fashions
of womans
attire.

Wherfore to their Author I leave them, not omittinge to

Pride stinking
before the face
of God.

tell you by the way (as an interim) of a certen kynde of sweete pride used amongst gentlemen and gentlewomen in Ailgna.

Spud. I have learned out of the Booke of God, that all pride is stincking before the face of God; wherfore I greatly desyre to knowe what abortyve miscreant this is, for it is some portentous mishapen monster, I am perswaded.

The having of
civet, musk.

Philo. Is not this a certen sweete pride to have cyvet, muske, sweete powders, fragrant pomanders, odorous perfumes, and such like, wherof the smel may be felt and perceived, not only over all the house, or place, where they be present, but also a stoncs cast of[f] almost, yea, in bed wherin they have layed their delicate bodies, the places where they have fate, the clothes, and thinges which they have touched shall smell a weeke, a moneth, and more, after they be gon.

And other
perfumes, a
sweet kind of
pride.

Efai, cap. 3.

But the prophet Efaias telleth them, instead of their pomaunders, musks, civets, balmes, sweet odours and perfumes, they shall have stench and horreur in the nethermost hel. Let them take heed to it, and amend their wicked lives.

Nofegayes and
posies of flow-
ers worn and
caried abrod.

And in the sommer-time, whilst flowres be greene and fragrant, yee shall not have any gentlewoman almost, no nor yet any droye or puffle in the countrey, but they will carye in their hande nofegayes and posies of flowres to smell at; and which is more, two or three nofegayes sticked in their brefts before, for what cause I cannot tel, except it be to allure their paramours to catch at them, wherby, I doubt not, but they get many a slabbering kisse, and, peradventure, more freendship besides: they know best what I mean.

Beware the
Spanish pip.

Spud. You wil be thought very straight laced to speak against these thinges, for I have heard it said, that these sweet smels are bothe corroborative to the fences, and com-

fortative to the spirits, and which doo vivifie and recreate aswel the body as the minde.

Philo. They are so far from comforting the braines, or lightning the spirits of men, that as mystes and exhalations which evaporate from these earthly bodyes, and are drawen up by the attractive power of the sun, moon, and starres, doo rather obnubilat and darken the beames of the sun, not suffering his radiations to disparte abroad; so these (in a maner) palpable odors, fumes, vapours, smells of these musks, cyvets, pomanders, perfumes, balmes, and fuche like, ascending to the braine, do rather denigrate, darken, and obscure the spirit and senses, then either lighten them, or comfort them any manner of way. But howsoever it falleth out, sure I am they are ensignes of pride, allurements to sinne, and provocations to vice. After all this, when they have attired them selves in the midst of their pride, it is a world to consider their coyneffe in gestures, their minfenes in woords and speaches, their gingerlynes in trippinge on toes like yong goats, their demure nicitie and babishnes, and withall their hawtie stomackes and more than Cyclopicall countenances. Their fingers are decked with gold, silver and precious stones, their wristes with bracelets and armlets of gold, and other precioufe jewels: their hands are covered with their sweet washed gloves, imbrodered with gold, silver, and what not; and to such abomination is it grown, as they must have their looking glasse caryed with them whersoever they go. And good reason, for els how cold they see the devil in them? for no doubt they are the devils spectacles to allure us to pride, and consequently to distruction for ever. And above all things they must have their silk scarffes cast about their

These curious smells obnubilat the spirits and darken the senses.

Sweet smells of musks, civet, and fuch like, do annoy the spirits.

The vain gestures and coyneffe of women in the midst of their peacock fethers. Fingers clogged with rings. Womens trinkets. Sweetened gloves. Looking glasses, the devils spectacles.

Silk skarfes.

A question to
scarfe wearers.Vifors or
invisories of
velvet to ride
abrode in.Suis volunta-
bris versemur.

faces, and fluttering in the winde, with great tassels at every end, either of gold, or silver, or silk. But I know wherfor they wil say they weare these scarfes; namely, to keep them from sun-burning; but I wold aske these nicelings one question, wherein if they can resolve mee, then I will say, as they say, that scarffes are necessary, and not flags of pride. Can that thing which is moste glorious and fair of it self make any thing foule or ilfavored? The sun is a most glorious and fair creature, and therfor cannot make them fowler then they are of their own nature. From whence then is it that the sun burneth them, and altereth their orient colour into woorser hue? The cause therof proceedeth from their own genuine corruption and natural imperfection; for no more is their fowlenes to be ascribed to the stelliferous beames of the glistering sun, then the stench of a dead carcasfe may be said to come from the sun, and not rather from it own corruption and filthines. They busie themselves in preserving the beautie of their bodyes, which lasteth but for a time, and in time is cause of his own corruption, and which, in effect, is nothing els then putrifaction it self, and a dung-hil covered with white and red, but for the beautie of the foule they care nothing at all. When they use to ride abroad they have invisories, or visors made of velvet, wherwith they cover all their faces, having holes made in them against their eyes, whereout they look. So that if a man, that knew not their guise before, should chaunce to meet one of them, hee would think hee met a monfter or a devil, for face hee can see none, but two brode holes against her eyes with glasses in them. Thus they prophane the name of God, and live in all kinde of voluptuousnes and pleasure, wurffe then ever did the hethen.

Sp. What think you, are not the inventors and first finders out of these new toyes and dyvelish devices in great daunger, and partakers with them of the evill committed?

Philo. It cannot be but the inventors of these new toyes are in great daunger before God, as they who shall render accounts to God not only for the invention of them, but also for the evil committed by them. For whosoever is author of any evil must needs answer for the evil. And surely the authors of these newfangles are not unworthy to be canonized saints when the yeere of jubilee commeth (I meane faints of Sathan); for there is no deed so flagitious, no fact so dangerous, nor any thing so hainous, which with alacritie is not plausbly committed for the maintenance of these divelish toyes and devices: and albeit that the persons themselves who offend this way shall dye in their finnes, their owne blood being powred uppon their owne heads, yet the authors of these new toyes, wherthorow they offended, shall be gilty of their deathes, and surely answer for their destruction in the day of the Lord.

Spud. But say they, if I make them not, an other wil, and it is as good for me to make them as an other; and it is my lyving, wherfore I am discharged of blame, if I make them (being commaunded) with sweat of my face, and with travaile and paine to get my lyving.

Philo. We are commaunded, indeed, to get our lyving with the sweat of our face, but how? Not in doing those things which are evill of themselves, and also drawe and intice others to evill, but in things lawful and good, and which induce to goodnesse. And to say others will make them, if I do not, no more excuseth them of offence than for

The first finders and inventors of new fashions are culpable of all the evil that commeth by them.

A vaine excuse.

We are bound to get our lyving in well doing, not in evill doing.

A caveat to
artificers that
invent new
fashions.

a murtherer or thief to say, if I had not robbed, or killed this man, another wold, dischargeth him from the penaltie of the judiciall lawe to be inflicted against him. Is it lawfull for us to do evill because others do it? Or dooth the wickednes of an other delyver me from blame, if I commit the same offence? no, nothing lesse. Wherefore let taylers and artificers beware how they eyther invente or make these new devyces and dyvelish fashions every day: and being requested to make them, if they percive them tende to vice, and allure to sinne, let them refuse them in the name of God, more tendering the salvation of many than the privat commoditie of themselves alone: which thing if every one wold do, he should delyver his own soule, and support an infinit number from falling into the gulphe of sinne; and so in short tyme these new toyes, fond devyces and childish babelries (new fashions I should say) wold soone vanish away and come to naught: which God graunt may once be seene!

Spud. Did the women of the former world attire themselves in fuche forte as these women do?

Philo. The women of the former age, you may be sure, never appareled themselves like one of these. But least you should thinke that the godly onelie lyved thus austerly, you shal heare how little the very hethen and barbarian women have, and do at this present, esteeme of apparell; as Stuporius witneffeth, whose words are these, speking of the Egyptian women: "*Vestimenta sciunt nec nova prestinis mutare, verum semper his in cultibus gaudent perpetuo tempore congregi, quascunque gentes hunc per orbem visitent*"; which may be thus turned into English verse:

*The Egiptian matrones never use
Their fashion of attyre to change,
But ever keep one forme to chuse,
Although they visite nations strange.*

And as all writers doo affirme, all the women there indifferently go with their haire hanging downe, with a broade hat uppon their heads, and other attyre as playne as the rest, so farre are these people from pride, and hunting after strange fashions as our women doo.

The women of Affrica are witnessed, by the same Stuporius, and others to be so farre from affecting strange fashions, or curiosity in aparel, that they cloth themselves, in a manner, all over *ferinis pellibus*, with beasts skinner, fures, and such like. And this they think so riche attire, as they use it altogether when they celebrat their festival solemne daies, or when they go abrode to be seene.

The Brasilian women esteeme so litle of apparell also, as they rather chose to go naked (their secret partes onely being covered) then they wold be thought to be proud, or desirouse of such vanities.

The Cantabrian women likewyse, with many others, do the same. In High Germany, the women use in effect one kind of apparel or habite, without any difference at all, nothing like other nations delighting in new fangles: yea, the wives there are so far from pride that they will not disdaine to carie all their househould stufte, and other trinckets, about with them uppon their backs in tyme of extremitie. These mayds and virgins go very plain, with kerchers only on their heads, their haire hanging downe behinde, in token of virginitie.

Thus, you see, every nation, how barbarous soever, are much inferiour to the people of Ailgna in pride and excesse of apparell ; and yet these examples I alledge not to the end I wold wish all others to use the same, or the very like brutish kind of auster habite, but to shew how farre they be from pride, and how much the other be wedded to the same. And as for the vertuous, and Godly Christian women, from the beginning of the world they have so litle cared for the vain glory of apparell, and so litle (or rather nothing at al) were they acquainted therewith, as they hunted for nothing els so much as for the ornaments of the mind, as wisdom, continency, chastitie, and true godlynesse, thinking the same bewtie sufficient. They counted it great shame to cloth their bodies with sumptuous apparel, and their minds to be naked, and voide of true vertue. So, if these women wold seek after the bewtie of the mind, they wold not affect apparell so much ; for if they be faire in body alredy, than need they not gorgeous apparel to make them fairer : and if they be deforme in body, it is not the apparell that can make them fairer. And either their bewtie consisteth in them, or in their apparal : if in them, than not in the apparell, and so it is meere foolery to were them ; and if in apparel, than not in them, and so cannot the garments make them fayre whom God and nature hath made otherwise : wherfor look in what shape, forme, or condition, every one is created by God, let him content himselfe with the same, without any alteration or chaunge, with praise to his Creator.

Spud. They hold (notwithstanding) that it is the pride of the heart, which God so much hateth and detesteth.

Pride of the
heart.

Philo. It is verye true that God punisheth the pride of the heart with eternal damnation (if they repent not), for he

will be ferved and ob[e]yed either with the whole man, or els with none. Than, if he punish the pride of the heart with everlasting damnation, he must needs (in justice) punish the pride of apparell with the like, being booth joyned in one predicament of sinne, and the pride of apparell much more hurting before the world than the other.

Pride of apparel equivalent with pride of the heart.

Also it is manifest that the pride of apparel riseth first from the corruption of the heart, as the effects from the cause, the fruite from the roote of the tree: than, if the pride of the heart which, notwithstanding it hurleth not outwardly, but is secret betwixt God and himselfe, be damnable in its owne nature before God, than must it needs be that the pride of apparell (which sheweth its selfe to the world, both offensive to God, and hurtfull to man, and which also is the fruite of the pride of the heart, and throweth almost as many as behold it, at least as many as followe it, into the very dungion of hell, is much more pernicious and damnable than the other.

Spud. Hath the Lord plagued this sinne of pride with any notable torture or punishment ever from the beginning of the world unto this day, or hath he omitted the revenge therof as a thing of small force, or importance?

Philo. Most fearfull plagues and dreadfull judgements of God have in all ages beene powred uppon them that offended herein, as all histories, both holy and prophane, do beare record. For prooffe wherof I will geve you a taste but of a few, wherby may appeare how wonderfully the Lord, in all ages, tymes, kinreds, and peoples, hath punished those that thorow pride (like wicked recusants and backsliders from God) have rebelled against his majestie. The devill, who before was an angell in heaven, arrogating to himselfe the

Examples of
God his
punishments
executed
uppon them
that offended
in pride in all
ages.

imperiall throane of the majesty of God, was cast downe into the depth of hell, burning with fire and fulphur for ever.

Adam, desiring to be a God (for the serpent tould him, he should be as God, knowing both good and evill), was for the sinne of pride throwne downe to the bottome of hell, and not onely he but all his posteritie to the end of the world. The hoast of Core, Dathan, and Abiram, for their exceeding pride in stirring up mutenie, rebelling against their lawfull magistrate, were swallowed up quick into hell, the earth opening her mouth and drowning them, with all their complices whatsoever. The people of Babylon, intending to builde a tower, whose top should tutche the skye, thinking that if God should drown the world againe with water, they would be sure inough on the toppe of their high turrets; yea, they intending to sit with God himselfe (if need weare) weare all confounded, and a diverse language put into every mans mouth, that none knew what an other spake. And thus were they forced to leave there building, and disperfed themselves abroad uppon the face of the earth, wherof sprang the first diversitie of languages in the world. Wherefore when we heare any language spoken we know not, it may be a memorandum to put us in minde of our pride, which was the cause therof.

A memoran-
dum.

Goliah, the great gyant, the huge Cyclops, and sworne enemy to the children of Israell, for his pride against the Lord was slaine by David, the fait[h]full fervant of the Lord.

Antiochus, intending to overthrow and sacke Jerusaleme, to spoile the sanctuarie and Temple of the Lord, and to kill the people of God, was for his pride overturned in his chariot, ryding thitherward, his belly brust, and filthy wormes crawled out moste lothfomly; and, in fine, beganne so to stinke

and swell, as neither his servants, nor he himselfe, could abide his owne favoure; and thus ended his lyfe in great miserie and wretchednesse.

Nabuchodonozor was for his pride cast out of his kingdom, and forced to eat grasse with wild beasts in the wildernesse. Nabuchodonozor Daniel 4.

King Saule, for his pride and disobedience, was deposed of his principallitie and kingly regimēte, and in the end slewe him self on mounte Gelboe most desperately. K. Saul.

Sodoma and Gomorra were both destroyed with fire and brimstone from heaven for their sin of pride and contempt of the Lord. All the world in the daies of Noah was drowned with universall deluge for pride and contumacy of heart.

King Hezekiah, for his pride in shewing to the Ambassadors of the King of Babylon all his treasure (for he sent messengers unto him with gifte and lettres, congratulatory for the recoverie of his helth) lost all his jewels, treasures, and riches, with his owne sonnes also, being transported captives into Babilon. K. David, for his pride in numbring the people contrary to the wil of God, was grievously punished, and threescore and ten thousand of his people slaine with a greivous pestilence for the same. 2 Reg. c. 25.
Samuel I, c. 4,
vers. 15.

King Pharaο, for his pride against the Lord (for he thought him selfe a God uppon the earth, and therefore asked he Moyse, in derision, who is the Lord?), was drowned in the Red Sea with all his host. The proude Pharisey, justifying him selfe, for his pride was reprovēd of the Lord, and rejected. The proude pharisey.

King Herode, for attiring himselfe in sumptuous aray and not ascribing glory to the Lord, was stricken dead by an Angel, and wormes consumed his flesh immediatly. Al Herode.

these, with infinit millions moe in al ages, have perished thorow pride, and therefore let not this people think that they shall escape unpunished, who drinke up pride as it weare sweet wyne, feede uppon it as uppon delicious meats, and wallow in it as a filthie fwyne doth in dirtie myre. Will the Lord punish his peculiare people and elect vessels, and let them goo free?

And his places
are prepared if
we repent not.

Wherefore I wold wyshe them to be warned, for it is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of God, who is a consuming fire and a fearfull God. His bowe is bente, his arrowes of judgements are drawn to the head, his fire is kyndled, his wrath is gone out, and ready to be powred uppon the contemners of his lawes. Tempt not the Lord any longer; provoke not his wrath, exasperate not his judgements towards thee; for as mercy proceedeth from him, so doth justice also; and, be sure of it, he payeth home at the last. For as in mercie he suffreth no good deed to be unrewarded, so, in his just judgemente, there is no wickednes which he leaveth unpunished. And yet, notwithstanding, their wickednesse and pride is such as stincketh before the face of God, and maketh the enemies to blaspheme and speake evill of the wayes of the Lord: for, say they, the men of Ailgna are wicked and licentious in all their wayes, which easily appeareth in their apparell and new fangled fashions every day invented. The beastly epicures, the drunkards and swilbowles, uppon their ale benches, when their heads are intoxicat with new wine, wil not stick to belch forth and say, that the inhabitantes of Ailgna go bravelye in apparell, chaunging fashions everie daye, for no cause so much as to delight the eyes of their harlots withall, and to inamoure the mindes of their fleshly paramours. Thus be

Our new
fangles and
tois are occa-
sion why all
nations mock
and floute us.

this people a laughing stock to all the world for their pride, a flaunder to the word of God, and to their profession, scandalles to their brethren, a dishonor and reproch to the Lord, and very caterpillers to themselves in waisting and confuming their goods and treasures uppon vanyties and trifles.

Our lyving
flaunders to
the truth.

Spud. Seeing that by divyne assistance you have now finished your tractation of the apparell of Ailgna, shew me (I pray you) what other abuses be there used; for I am perswaded that pride, the mother of all sinne, is not without her daughters of sinne semblable to her selfe.

The horryble vice of Whordome in Ailgna.

Philo. The horryble vice of whordome also is there too too much frequented to the great hishonor of God, the provoking of his judgements against them, the staining and blemish of their profession, the evill example of all the world, and finally to their owne damnation for ever, excepte they repente.

Whordome in
Ailgna too
rife.

Spud. I have heard them reason, that mutuall coition betwixt man and woman is not so offensive before God; for do not all creatures (say they) as well *reptilia terræ* as *volatilia cæli*, the creeping things upon the earth, as the flying creatures in the aire, and all other creatures in generall, both small and great, ingender together? Hath not nature and kynd ordained them so? and geven them members incident to that use? and doth not the Lord (say they) as with a stimule or prick by his mandat, saing *crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram*: increase, multiplie and fill the earth, stirre them up to the same? Otherwyfe the world

Vain and un-
godly reasons
pretending
that whor-
dome is no
sinne.

O wicked
lybertines !

would become barren, and soone fall to decay : wherefore they conclude that whordome is a badge of love, a cognizance of amitie, a tutch of lustie youth, a frendlie dalliance, a redintegration of love, and an ensigne of vertue, rather meritorious than damnable : these, with the like, be the exceptions which I have hard them many times to object in defence of their carnall pollutions.

The first institution of
matrimonie.

Marriage instituted for 4
causes.

Philo. Curfed be those mouths that thus blaspheme the mightie God of Israell and his sacred word, making the same clokes to cover their sinne withall : worse are they than lybertynes who thinke all things lawfull, or atheistes who denie there is any God. The divells themselves never sinned so horribly nor erred so grossely as these (not Christians, but dogges) do, that make whordom a vertue and meritorious : but because you shal see their deceptions displayed and their damnable abuses more plainly discovered, I will reduce you to the first institution of this godly ordinance of matrimony. The Lord our God, having created all things in heaven, earth or hell whatsoever, created of every sex two, male and female of both kindes ; and last of al other creatures he made man after his own likenesse and similitude, giving him a woman, made of a ribbe of his own body, to be his companion, and comforter, and lincking them together in the honorable state of venerable wedlocke, he blessed them both, saying *crescite, multiplicamini et replete terram* ; increase, multiplie, and replenish the earth : wherby it is more than apparent that the Lorde, whose name is Jehovah, the mightie God of Israell, is the author of godly matrimony, instituting it in the time of mans inconcency in Paradise ; and that, as mee seemeth, for foure causes. First, for the avoydance of whordome ; se-

condly, for the mutuall comferte and confolation that the one might have of the other in all adverfities and calamities whatfoever: thirdly, for the procreation and godly propagation of children in the feare of the Lord, that both the world might be increafed therby, and the Lord alfo in them glorified. And, fourthlie, to be a figure or type of our fpirituall wedlocke betwixt Chrift and his church, both militant and triumphante. This congreffion, and mutuall copulation of thofe that be thus joyned together in the godlye ftate of bleffed matrimony is pure virginitie, and allowable before God and man, as an action wherto the Lorde hath promifed his bleffing thorow his mercy, not by our merite, *ex opere operato*, as fome fhame not to fay. All other goinges together and coitions are damnable, peftiferous, and execrable. So, now you fee that wheras the Lord faith increafe, multiplie, and fill the earth, he alludeth to thofe that are cheyned together in the godlye ftate of matrimonie and wedlocke, and not otherwyfe: for to thofe that go together after any other forte, he hath denounced his curfe and wrath for evermore, as his alfaving word beareth record. And wheras they fay that all creatures uppon the earth do ingender together, I graunte it is true; but how? *in fuo genere*, in their owne kinde. There is no creature creeping on the earth, or flying in the aire, how irrationable foever, that dooth degenerate as man dooth, but keepethe the fame ftate and order wherein they were made at the firft; and fo if man did, he fhould not commit the abhominable whordome and filthie finne as hee dooth. It is faid of thofe that write *de naturâ animalium*, that (almost) all unreafonable beafts and flying fowles, after they have once linked and united them felves together to

All mutuall
copulation ex-
cept mariage
is unlawfull.

How all
creatures do
goe together in
their kinde.

The fidelitie of
unreasonable
creatures in
marriage one
towards an
other.

How much
the heathen
have detested
whordome.

Sundry pu-
nishments of
whordome
amongst the
heathen.

Testimonies
out of the
woord of God
wherin whor-
dome is forbid.

any one of the same kinde, and after they have once espoused them selves the one to the other, wil never after joyne them selves with any other, til the one be dissolved from the other by death. And thus they keepe the knot of matrimonie inviolable to the end; and if any one chaunce to revolte, and go together with any other, during the life of his first mate, al the rest of the same kind assem-ble together, as it were in a council or parliament, and either kil or greivously punish the adulterer or adulteresse, whether ever it be; which lawe I would God were amongst Christians established. By all which it may appeer how horrible a sinne whordome is in nature, that the very unrea-sonable creatures doo abhorre it. The heathen people, who know not God, so much lothe this stinking sinne of whor-dome that some burne them quick, some hang them on gibbets, some cut off their heds, some their armes, legs and hands; some put out their eyes, some burne them in the face, some cut off their noses, some one parte of their bodye, some another, and some with one kinde of torture, and some with another; but none leaveth them unpunished: so that we are set to schoole to learn our first rudiments (like yung novices or children scarce crept out of the sheld) how to pu-nish whordome even by the unreasonable creatures, and by the heathen people who are ignorant of the devine goodnes. God me merciful unto us!

Spud. I pray you rehearse some places out of the word of God, wherein this cursed vice of whordome is forbidden, for my better instruction.

Philo. Our Saviour Christe, in the eight of John, speaking of the woman whom the malicious Jewes had apprehended in adulterie, bad her go her way, and sin no more. If it had

not been a moſte greevous fin, he would never have bid her to fin therein no more.

In the fiſt of Mathew he ſaith, Who ſo luſteth after a woman in his hart, hath committed the fact alreſdy, and therefore is guiltie of death for the ſame. To the Pharifeſ, asking him whether a man might not put away his wife for any occaſion? Chriſte answered, For no cauſe, ſave for whordome onely; inferring that whordome is ſo hainous a finne, as for the perpetration therof it ſhalbe lawful for a man to ſequeſter him ſelf from his own wife, and the wife from her owne husband. The Apoſtle Paul ſayth, Know you not that your bodyes are the members of Chriſte? Shall I then take the members of Chriſte (ſaith he), and make them the members of an whore? God forbid! knowe yee not that he who coupleth him ſelf with a harlot is become one body with her? Flee fornication (ſaith he), therefore, for every finne a man committeth is without the body, but who committeth fornication finneth againſt his owne body. And in another place: Knowe you not that your bodyes are the temples of the Holy Ghoſt, which dwelleth within you? And who ſo deſtroyeth the temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy.

Mat. 5.

Mat. 19; Mat. 10; Luc. 16.

I Cor. 6.

In an other place he ſaith: Be not deceived, for neither whoremonger, adulterer, fornicator, inceſtuous perſon, nor ſuch like, ſhall ever enter into the kingdome of heaven. Again, *Conjugium honorabile eſt inter omnes*: mariage is honorable amongſt all men, and the bed undefiled; but whooremongers and adulterers God ſhall judge. In the Revelation of Saint John is it ſaid, that they who were not defiled with women doo waite upon the Lamb, whetherſoever he goeth. The Apoſtle Paul willeth us to be ſo far from fornication, that it be not once named amongſt us, as be-

commeth faints ; with infinit such places, which for breefnes I omit, referring you in the Olde Testament to these and such like places, namely, the 20 of Exodus, 20 of Leviticus, Deutonomie 22, Deutro. 27, 2 Reg. 11, Levit. 18, Exodus 22, Num. 5, Eccl. 9, Pro. 23, 7 verse, 24.

Spud. As you have now proved by invincible testimonies of holy Scripture, that whordome is forbidden by the Lord, so, I pray you, shew me the greivousnes therof by some severe and rare examples of Gods just judgement, executed upon the same from the beginning.

Genesis 7, 8.

Punishments
of whordom in
all ages.

Genesis 19;
Genesis 24.

Genesis 26.

Ge. 16.

Ge. 18.

2 Reg. 16.

Ge. 29.

Philo. The whole world was destroyed with water, not any living thing left upon the erth (save in the Ark of Noath) for the sin of whordom, incest, and brotherly, used in those daies. Sodoma and Gomora, two famous cities, were consumed with fire and brimstone from heaven for the sin of whordom, adulterie, and fornication. The citie of the Sichemits, man, woman, and childe, weare put to the edge of the swoorde for the ravishing of Dina, the daughter of Jacob. The Lord also tolde Abimelech that if he did not let go untouched Sara, Abraham his wife, bothe he and all his housholde should dye the death, notwithstanding he did it ignorantly. The very same hapned to Isaac. Judas, understanding that his daughter in law was impregnate and great with childe, and not knowing by whom, commanded that she should be burned without any further delay. Was not Abfalon, king David his sonne, plagued all his life for going into his fathers concubines? And did not Achitophel, who gave counsel so to do, hang himself? Was not Ruben, the first borne sonne of Jacob, accursed for going up to his fathers bed, and lost he not his birth-right, his dignitie, his primacie, over his bretheren for the same? Were there not above

threefcore and five thoufand men flain for the adulterie doon with one Levits wife? Was not king David punished all the daies of his life for his adulterie doon with Berfabe, Urias his wife? Was not his fonne Amon, for lying with Thamar, flain? Was not Solomon, beeing perverted with heathen women, caft out of the favour of God, notwithstanding being otherwise the wifefte prince in all the world? Did not Achab, at the perfwasions of Jefabel, his curfed wife, falling to idolatrie and worshipping of idoles and devils, fuffer moft cruell punishment in this life all his dayes, befide what he suffereth now God onely knoweth. Were not the Ifraelite and Madianitish woman both flain by that woorthy man Phinees, who ran them both thorow the privy members with his javelin or fwoord? Was not Sampfon brought to a miserable end, his eyes beeing bothe put out, and he made to be a laughing ftock to all men, thorow his too much favouring of wanton women? Was not king Pharao wonderfully plagued but for intending evil in his hart towards Sara, Abraham his wife? Did not the Lord flay (with a moft greevous mortalitie) foure and twentie thoufand of the Ifraelites in one day, for whordome and adulterie with the women of the Moabites and Madianits?

Judi. 20.
2 Reg. 13, 12.
3 Reg. 21.
Num. 25.
Jud. 26.
Gene. 12.

By thefe, and fuch like fearful examples of the juftice of God powred upon thefe whoremongers and adultrers, we may learn to know the greevousnes of the fame, and the punishment due to all whoremongers and fornicatours, either in this life, or in the world to come, or els in bothe: for if the Lord deffer the punishment of whordome in this life, hee referveth it for the world to come, fuffering the wicked to wallow in their finne, and to fil up the meafure of iniquitie, that their damnation may be juft. And if the Lord left not

fin unpunished, no, not in his most deer faints, what wil he doo in them who dayly crucifie him anew, let the world judge.

Spud. Now am I fully perfwaded, by your invincible reasons, that there is no fin greater before the face of God then whoredome; wherefore, *God graunt that all his may avoid it.*

What evils
whordome
bringeth to
mans body in
this life.

Philo. You have said true, for there is no finne (almost) comparable unto it; for besides that it bringeth everlasting damnation to all that live therein to the end without repentance, it also bringeth these inconveniences, with many mo: *vidilicet*, it dimmeth the sight, it impaireth the hearing, it infirmeth the sinewes, it weakeneth the joynts, it exhausteth the marrow, consumeth the moisture and supplement of the body, it riveleth the face, appalleth the countenance, it dulleth the spirits, it hurteth the memorie, it weakneth the whole body, it bringeth it into a consumption, it bringeth ulcerations, scab, scurf, blain, botch, pocks, and biles; it maketh hoare haires and bald pates: it induceth olde age, and, in fine, bringeth death before nature urge it, malady enforce it, or age require it.

Sp. Seeing that whordome bringeth such foure fauce with it, namely, death everlasting after this life, and so many discommodities besides in this life, I wonder that men dare commit the same so securely as they doo now a dayes.

The small
care to avoid
whordome in
Ailgna.

Philo. It is so little feared in Ailgna, that, until every one hath two or three bastardes a peece, they esteeme him no man (for that they call a mans deede); infomuch as every scurvie boy of twelve, fourteen, or twenty yeeres of age wil make no conscience of it to have two or three, peradventure half a dosen severall women with childe at once; and this

exploite beeing doon, he shoves them a faire pair of heeles, and away goeth he, *Euro velocius*, as quick as a bee (as they say) into some strange place where he is not knowen, where how he liveth let the wife judge, for, *cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*; though they chaunge their place of abode, yet their naughtie dispositions they retaine still. Then, having estraunged them selves thus for a small space, they returne againe, not to their pristine curfed life, I dare say, but unto their countrey, and then no man may say black is their eye; but all is wel, and they as good Christians as those that suffer them unpunished.

Whormongers
runagates.

Spud. The state and condition of that cuntrey is most miserable, if it be true you report: it weare much better that everye one had his lawful wife, and every woman her lawfull husband, as the apostle commaundeth, then thus to be drowned in the filthie sin of whordome.

Philo. That is the only salve and soveraine remedy which the Lord ordained against whordome, that those who have not the gift of continencie might mary, and so keep their vessels undefiled to the Lord. But, notwithstanding, in Ailgna there is over great libertye permitted therin; for litle infants, in fwadling clowts, are often married by their ambitious parents and frends, when they know neither good nor evill; and this is the origene of much wickednesse, and directlie against the word of God, and examples of the primityve age. And, besydes this, you shall have every sawcy boy of x, xiiij, xvi, or xx yeeres of age to catch up a woman and marie her, without any feare of God at all, or respect had, either to her religion, wisdom, integritie of lyfe, or any other vertue; or, which is more, without any respecte how they

Mariage an
antidotarie
against whor-
dome.

Maring of
infants in
fwadling
cloths.

Every boy
fnatcheth up a
woman to
wyfe.

maye lyve together with sufficient maintenance for their callings and estat. No, no; it maketh no matter for these things: so he have his pretie puffie to huggle withall, it forceth not, for that is the only thing he desireth. Than build they up a cotage, though but of elder poals, in every lane end, almost, wher they lyve as beggers al their life. This filleth the land with such store of poore people, that in short tyme (except some caution be provided to prevent the same), it is like to growe to great povertie and scarfnes, which God forbid.

A restraint of
marriage.

Sp. I cannot see how this geare shold be holpen.

Philo. What if a restraint were made that none (except uppon speciall and urgente causes) should marie before they come to xx or xxiiii yeres, or, at the least, before they be xiiii or xviii yeeres old, would not this make fewer beggers than now there are?

Sp. But if this were establihed, than should we have more bastards; and of the two I had rather we had many legittimats than many illegittimates.

How whor-
dome may be
suppressed.

Philo. The occasion of begetting of manye bastards were soon cut of, if the punishment which either God his lawe doth allowe, or els which good pollicy doth constitute, were aggravated and executed uppon the offenders.

The punish-
ment for
whordome
over remisse.

For the punishment appointed for whordom now is so light that they esteeme not of it; thei feare it not, they make but a jest of it. For what great thing is it to go ij or three dayes in a white sheete before the congregation, and that somtymes not past an houre or two in a day, having their usuall garments underneth, as commonly they have? This impunitie (in respecte of condigne punishment, which that vice requireth) doth rather animate and imbolden them to the acte,

than feare them from it. In so much as I have heard some miscreants impudently say, that he is but a beaſt that for ſuch white lyvered puniſhment would abſtayne from ſuche gallant paſtyme: but certen it is that they who thinke it ſuche ſweet meate here, ſhall find the ſawce ſowre and ſtiptick enough in hell.

Spud. What puniſhment would you have inflicted uppon ſuch as commit this horrible kinde of finne?

Philo. I would wiſh that the man or woman, who are certenlye knowen, without all ſcruple or doubte, to have committed the horryble act of whordome, adulterie, inceſt, or fornication, eyther ſhould drinke a full draught of Moyſes cuppe, that is taſt preſent death; or els, if that be thought too ſevere (for evill men will be more mercifull than the author of mercie him ſelfe, but in goodneſſe fare well mercy) than wold God they might be cauterized and ſeared with a hote yron on the cheeke, forehead, or ſome other parte of their bodye that might be ſeene, to the end the honeſt and chaſt Chriſtians might be diſcerned from the adulterous children of Sathan. But (alas!) this vice (with the reſt) wanteth ſuch due puniſhment as God his word doth commaunde to be executed theruppon.

What kind of
puniſhment
whordome
ought to have.

The magiſtrates wincke at it, or els, as looking thorowe their fingers, they ſee it, and will not ſee it.

And therefore the Lorde is forced too take the ſword into his owne hands, and to execute puniſhment him ſelfe, becauſe the magiſtrates will not.

For better proof wherof marke this ſtrange and fearful judgement of God ſhewed uppon two adulterous perſons there, even the laſt day in effect, the remembrance wherof is yet green in their heds.

There was a man whose name was W. Ratfurb, being certainly knowen to be a notorious userer (and yet pretending alway a singular zeale to religion, so that he wold seldom tymes go without a byble about him: but see the judgements of God upon them that will take his word in their mouthes, and yet lyve cleane contrarie, making the word of God a cloke to cover their sinne and naughtynesse withall); who, uppon occasion of busines, visiting Lewedirb, a place appointed for the correction of such that be wicked lyvers, saw there a famous whore, but a very proper woman, whom (as is said) he knew not; but whether he did or not, certen it is that he procured her delyvery from thence, bayled her, and, having put away his owne wife before, kept her in his chamber, using her at his pleasure. Whyleft these two members of the devil were playing the vile sodomits together in his chamber, and having a litle pan of coles before them, wherin was a very litle fire, it pleased God, even in his wrath, to strike these two persons dead in a moment. The woman, falling over the pan of coles, was burned, that all her bowels gushed out: the man was found lying by, his cloths in some partes being scorched and burned, and some partes of his body also. But, which is most wonderfull, his arme was burned to the very boone, his shirt sleeve and dublet not once perished, nor tutchted with the fire. Whereby may be thought, and not without great probabilitie of truth, that it was even the fire of God his wrath from heaven, and not any natural fire from the earth. And in this wonderfull and fearfull maner weare these cupple founde: which God graunt may be a document to all that heare or read the same, to avoyde the like offence, and to all magistrates an example to see the same punished with more severitie, to the glorie of God and their owne discharge.

But so farre are some from suffering condigne punishment for this horrible sinne, that they get good maintenance with practising the same. For you shall have some, yea many thousands, that live uppon nothing els, and yet go clothed gentlewomanlike both in their filks, and otherwyse, with their fingers clogged with rings, their wrists with bracelets and jewels, and their purses full of gold and silver. And hereof they make no conscience, so their husbands know it not. Or if they doo, some are such peafants, and such may-cocks, that either they will not, or (which is truer) they dare not reprove them for it. But if the husband once reprove them for their misdemeanour, than they conspire his death by some meane or other. And all this cometh to passe because the punishment therof is no extremer, as it ought to be; and some, both gentlemen and others (wherof some I know) are so nussed herein, that having put awaye their owne wyves, do keepe whores openly. without any great punishment for it; and having beene convented before the magistrery and there beene deposed uppon a booke to put awaye their whores, have put them forth at one doore, and taken them in at the other.

And thus they dally in their othes with the Lord, and stoppe the course of the lawe with *rubrum argentum*, wherof they have store to bestowe uppon such wickednesse, but have not a mite to give towards any good purpose.

Wherefore, in the name of God, let all men that have put awaye their honest wyves be forced to take them again, and abandon all whores, or els to taste of the law. And let all whores be cut of with the sword of right judgement; for as long as this immunitie and impunitie is permitted amongst us, let us never looke to please God, but rather provoke

his hevie judgements against us. And the reason is, for that there is no sinne in all the world, but these whores and whoremaisters will willingly attempt and atcheive for the injoying of their whordome. And hell, destruction and death everlasting is the guerdon therof, and yet men cannot be aware of it. The Lord remooove it from all his children, and present them blameles before his tribunall seate, without spotte or wrinckle at that great day of the Lord!

Spud. What memorable thing els have you seen there frequented? for seeing you have begun in parte, I pray you describe the whole.

The Gluttonie and Drunkenesse in Ailgna.

Daintie fare,
gluttony and
gourmandice
used in Ailg.

Ph. I have seen that which greeveth me to report. The people there are marveiloufly given to daintie fare, gluttony, bellicheer, and many also to drunkenesse and gourmandice.

Spud. That is a manifest argument of good hospitalitie, which both is commended in the word of God, and which I know you will not reprehende.

Godly hospitalitie
to be commended.

Ph. Godly hospitalitie is a thing in no wise worthy of reprehension, but rather of great commendation; for many have received angels into their houses, at unawares, by using the same, as Abraham, Lot, Tobias, and many others. Yet if hospitality flow over into superfluitie and riotous excessse, it is not tolerable: for now adaies, if the table be not covered from the one end to the other, as thick as one dish can stand by another, with delicat meats of fundry sorts, one cleane different from an other, and to every dish a severall sawce appropriat to his kinde, it is thought there

Varitie of
dishes and
meats, with
their curious
sawces.

unworthye the name of a dinner. Yea, so many dishes shal you have pesterving the table at once, as the infaciabest Helluo, the devouringest glutton, or the greatest cormorant that is can scarce eat of every one a litle. And these many shall you have at the first course, as many at the second, and, peradventure, moe in the third, besydes other sweet condyments, and delicat confections of spiceries, and I cannot tell what. And to these dainties all kind of wyne are not wanting, you may be sure. Oh, what nisitie is this! what vanitie, excesse, ryot and superfluitie is heare! Oh, farewell former world! for I have heard my father say that, in his dayes, one dish or two of good wholsome meate was thought sufficient for a man of great worship to dyne withall; and if they had three or four kinds it was reputed a sumptuous feast. A good peece of beef was thought than good meat, and able for the best; but now it is thought too grosse, for their tender stomacks are not able to digest such crude and harsh meats: for if they shold (their stomacks being so queasie as they be, and not able to concoct it) they should but evacuat the same againe, as other filthie excrements, their bodies receiving no noorishment therby, or els they should lye stincking in their stomacks, as dirte in a filthie sinck or pryvie. If this be so, I marveile how our fore-fathers lyved, who eat litle els but cold meats, grosse and hard of digesture. Yea, the most of them fead upon graine, corne, roots, pulse, herbs, weeds, and such other baggage, and yet lived longer then wee, helthfuller then we, were of better complection then we, and much stronger then we in every respect: wherfore I cannot perswade my self otherwise, but that our nicenes and curiousnes in dyet hath altered our nature, distempered our bo-

Excesse of meats.

The austerity and godly simplicity of the former world in meats and drinckes.

Nice, tender stomacks.

The faragin-ous or rough fare of our forefathers.

dies, and made us more subject to millions of discriefies and diseases than ever weare our forefathers subject unto, and consequently of shorter life then they.

Our nice fare
hath altered
our bodies and
chaungid our
nature.

Spud. They wil aske you again, wherfore God made such varietie of meats, but to be eaten of men? what answerere give you to that?

Medietie to be
observed in
meats.

Philo. The Lord our God ordained, indeede, the use of meat and drinks for man to sustaine the fraile, caduke and brittle estate of his mortall body withall for a time; but he gave it him not to delight and wallow therein continually, for as the old adage faith, *Non vivendum ut edamus, sed edendum ut vivamus*: we must not live to eat, but wee must eat to live; we must not swill and ingurgitate our stomacks so full, as no more can be crammed in. The Lord willed that they should be ordinarie meanes to preserve the state of our bodies a time, whilst we live and sojourne in this vaste wilderness of the worlde, but not that they should be instruments of destruction to us both of body and foule. And truly they are no lesse when they are taken immoderately without the feare of God. And dooth not the impletion and facietie of meates and drinks provoke lust? as Hiero faith, *Venter mero estuans spumat in libidinem*, the belly inflamed with wine bursteth forth in lust. Dooth not lust bring forth sinne, and sin bring forth death? The children of Israel, giving themselves to delicat fare and gluttony, fell to idolatrie, sacriledge and apostasie, worshipping stocks, stoness and devils instead of the living God. The sonnnes of Hely the Priest, giving themselves to daintie fare and belly-cheere, fell into such sin as the Lord slew them all, and their father also, for that he chastised them not for the same. The children of blessed Job, in midst of

When meats
and drinks are
instruments of
destruction
unto us.

Ge. 24.

1 Reg. 2.

all their banquetings and ryot, were slain by the Lord, the whole house falling upon them, and destroying them most pitifully. Balthasar, king of the Chaldeans, in midst of all his good cheer, saw a hand writing upon the wall these words, *mene techel upharfin*, signifying that his kingdom should be taken from him; and so it was, and he slain the same night by the hand of the Lord. The rich glutton in the Gospel, for his riotous feasting and preposterous living, was condemned to the fire of hel. Our father Adam, with all his of-spring (to the end of the world) was condemned to hel-fire for taking one apple to satisfy his glotonous desire withall. Gluttony was one of the chiefest canons wherewith the devil assailed Christe, thinking thereby to batter his kingdom and to win the field for ever; yet notwithstanding the greivousnes heerof, the same is thought to be a countenance and a credit to a man in Ailg. But true hospitality consisteth not in many dishes, nor in sundry sorts of meats (the substance wherof is chaunged almoste into accidents thorow their curious cookries, and which doo help to rot the bodies and shorten their daies) but rather in giving liberally to the poor and indigent members of Jesus Christe, helping them to meat, drink, lodging, clothing, and such other necessaries wherof they stand in need.

Daniel 5,
verse 5.

Luc. 16.

Mat. 4.

Wherin hos-
pitalitie
consisteth.

But such is their hospitality, that the poor have the least part of it: you shall have 20, 40, 60, yea a C *li.* spent in one house in banqueting and feasting, yet the poor shall have litle or nothing: if they have any thing, it is but the refuge meat, scraps and patrings, such as a dog would scarce eat somtimes, and wel if they can get that too: insted wherof, not a few have whipping cheer to feed them withall. It is counted but a smal matter for a man that can scarce lie dif-

The small
relief to the
poore.

Locking up of
gates when
meat is stir-
ring.

Three devour-
ing cankers.

Who more
subject to
infirmities
then they that
fare best?

pend fortie pound by the yeer, to bestow against one time, ten or twentie pound therof in spices. And truely so long and greevously hath this excesse of gluttonie and daintie fare surfetted in Ailgna, as I feare mee, it will spue out many of his maisters out of dores before it be long. But as some be over largeous, so other some are spare enough; for when any meat is stirring then lock they up their gates, that no man may come in. An other sorte have so many houses that they visit them once in vii yeer; many chimnies but little smoke; faire houses, but small hospitalitie. And to be plaine, there are three cankers, which, in proceffe of time, will eat up the whole common welth, if speedy reformation be not had, namely, daintie fare, gorgious buildings, and sumptuous apparel; which three abuses, especially, yet not without their cosin germanes, doo flourish there. God remoove them thence, for his Christes sake.

Spud. I had thought that dainty fare and good cheer both norished the body perfectly, and also prolonged life; and dooth it not, think you?

Philo. Experience, as [by] my former intimations you may gather, teacheth clean contrary; for who is sicklier then they that fare deliciously every day? who is corrupter? who belcheth more? who looketh wurffe, who is weaker and feeblar then they? who hath more filthie colour, flegme, and putrifaction (repleat with grosse humors) then they? and, to be breef, who dyeth sooner then they? Doo wee not see the poor man that eateth brown bread (wherof some is made of rye, barlie, peason, beans, oates, and such other grosse graines) and drinketh small drink, yea, sometimes water, feedeth upon milk, butter, and cheese; (I say) doo wee not see such a one helthfuller, stronger, and longer living then the other that

fare daintily every day? And how should it be otherwise? for wil not the eating of divers and fundry kindes of meats, of divers operations and qualities (at one meale) engender distemperance in the bodie? And the body distempered wil it not fall into fundry deseases? one meat is of hard disgesture, another of light; and whilst the meat of hard disgesture is in concocting, the other meat of light disgesture dooth putrefie and stink: and this is the very mother of all diseases. One is of this qualitie, another of that; one is of this operation, another of that; one kind of meat is good for this thing, another is naught for that. Then, how can all these contrarieties and discrepances agree togither in one body at one and the same time? Wil not one contrary impugne his contrary? one enemy resist an other? Then, what wise man is he that wil receive all these enemies into the castle of his body at one time? Doo we not see, by experience, that they that give themselves to dainty fare and sweet meats are never in helth? Dooth not their sight wax dim, their eares hard of hering, their teeth rot and fall out? dooth not their breth stink, their stomack belch foorth filthy humors, and their memory decay? Doo not their spirits and senses become hevie and dul by reason of exhalations and impure vapors, which rise in their gingered breasts and spiced stomacks? and, fumyng up to the hed, they mortifie the vitall spirits and intellectuall powers. Dooth not the whole body become purfie and corpulent, yea, somtimes decrepit therewith, and ful of all filthy corruption? The Lord keep his chosen from tasting therof.

The speedy decay of those that geve themselves to daintie fare.

Sp. You spake of drunkenes, what say you of yt?

Phi. I say it is a horrible vice, and too too much used in Ail. Every cuntrey, citie, towne, village, or other, hath

The beastly
vice of drunk-
enes' frequent-
ed in Ailg.

The spirite of
the buttry is
drunknes and
excesse.

The lothfom
qualities of
those that be
drunke.

The transfi-
guration of
those that be
drunke.

abundance of alehouses, taverns, and innes, which are so fraughted with mault-wormes, night and day, that you would wonder to see them. You shal have them there sitting at the wine and good ale all the day long, yea, all the night too, peradventure a whole week together, so long as any mony is left; swilling, gulling, and carowling from one to an other, til never a one can speak a redy woord. Then, when with the spirit of the buttry they are thus possessed, a world it is to consider their gestures and demenors, how they stut and stammer, stagger and reele to and fro like madmen; some vomiting, spewing, and disgorging their filthie stomacks; other some (*honor fit auribus*) pissing under the boord as they sit, and which is horrible, some fall to swering, cursing, and banning, interlacing their speeches with curious taerms of blasphemie, to the great dishonour of God and offence of the godly eares present.

Sp. But they wil say, that God ordained wines and strong drinks to cheer the heart and to sustain the body; therefore it is lawful to use them to that end.

Philo. Meats (moderately taken) corroborate the body, refresh the arteries, and revive the spirits, making them after every member to doo his office as God hath appointed; but being immoderately taken (as commonly they be) they are instruments of damnation to the abusers of the same, and noorish not the body but corrupt it rather, and casteth it into a world of deseases. And a man once drunke with wine or strong drink rather resembleth a brute beaste then a Christian man; for doo not his eies begin to stare and to be red, fiery and blered, blubbering forth seas of teares? Dooth he not frothe and fume at the mouth like a bore? dooth not his tung faulter and stammer in his mouth? dooth

not his hed seeme as hevie as a milstone, he not being able to bear it up? Are not his wits and spirits, as it were, drowned? Is not his understanding altogether decayed? doo not his hands, and all his body, quiver and shake, as it were, with a quotidian fever? Besides these it casteth him into a dropsie or pluresie nothing so soon; it infeebleth the sinewes, it weakeneth the natural strength, it corrupteth the blood, it dissolveth the whole man at the length, and finally maketh him forgetful of himself altogether, so that what he dooth being drunk he remembreth not being sober. The drunkard, in his drunkennes, killeth his freend, revileth his lover, discloseth secrets, and regardeth no man: he either expelleth all feare of God out of his minde, all loove of his freends and kinsfolkes, all remembrance of honestie, civilitie, and humanitie; so that I will not feare to call drunkerds beasts, and no men; and much wurse then beasts, for beasts never excede in such kinde of excesse or superfluitie, but alway *modum adhibent appetitum*, they measure their appetites by the rule of necessitie, which would God wee would doo.

The discom-
modities of
drunkennes.

Drunkerds
wurffe then
beasts.

Spud. Seeing it is so great an offence before God, I pray you shew me some testimonies of the holy Scriptures against it; for whatsoever is evil, the woord of God, I doubt not, reproveth the same.

Philo. It seemeth you have not read the holy Scripture very much, for if you had you should have found it not only spoke against, but also throwen down even to hel: for proof wherof of infinit places I wil recite a few. The prophet Esaias thundereth out against it, saying, *ve qui consurgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandam*: Wo be to them that ryse earlie to followe drunkennesse, wallowing therein from morning to night, untill they be set on fire with wyne and strong

Esais 5.

Testimonies
against drunk-
ennesse out of
the word of
God.
Hoseas c. 4.

drinke. Therfore gapeth hell, and openeth her mouth wyde, that the glory, multitude, and welth of them that delight therin may go downe into it, saith the prophet. The prophet Hoseas saith, *fornicatio, vinum et mustum auferunt animum*. Whordome, wyne, and strong drinke infatuat the heart of man.

Joel 1.

The prophet Joel biddeth all drunkards awake, saying, Weepe and howle, you wine-bibbers, for the wickednesse of destruction that shall fall upon you.

Habacuck 2.

The prophet Habacuck soundeth a most dreadfull alarme not only to all drunkards, but also to all that make them drunken, saying, Wo be to him that geveth his neighbour drinke till he be drunke, that thou mayst see his privities.

Proverb ca.
10.

Salomon saith, Wyne maketh a man to be scornfull, and strong drinke maketh a man unquiet: who so take a pleasure in it shall not be wise. In an other place, Keep not companie with wynebibbers and riotous persons, for such as be drunkards shal come to beggerie. In the xxij of his Proverbs he saith: To whome is woo? to whome is sorow?

Proverb 23.

to whome is strife? to whome is murmuring? to whome are wounds without cause? and to whome are red eyes? Even to them that tarie long at the wyne, to them that go and seek mixt wyne. And, againe: Looke not thou upon the wyne when it is red, and when it sheweth his colour in the cup, or goeth downe pleasantlie, for in the end it will bite like a serpent, and hurt like a cockatrice, or basilicock, which slay or kill men with the poison of their fighte. Again, it is not for kings to drynke wyne, nor it is not for princes to drinke strong drinke. Our Saviour Christ, in the Gospell of S. Luke, biddeth us take heed that we be not overcome with surfetting and drunknes and cares of this lyfe, least the day of the Lorde come upon us unawares.

Proverb 31.

Luc. 21.

Paule to the Ephesians, biddeth beware that we be not drunk with wine, wherein is exceſſe, but to be filled with the ſpirit. The ſame apoſtle, in an other place, faith, that neither whoremonger, adulterer, drunkard, glotton, ryotous perſon, nor ſuch like, ſhal ever enter into the kingdome of Heaven. By theſe few places, out of many, you may ſee the inormitie of this vice, which is ſo much every where frequented. Ephe. 5.

Spud. Let me intreate you to ſhew me ſome examples withall, whereby I may ſee what evill it hath done in all ages.

Philo. Drunknes cauſed Lot to commit moſt ſhamefull inceſt with his owne two daughters, who got them both with child, he not perceiving it, neither when they lay downe, nor when they roſe up. See how drunkenneſſe aſſotteth a man, depriving him of all ſence, reaſon, and underſtanding. Gene. 29.

Drunkenneſſe cauſed Noah to lye with his privities bare in his tabernacle, in ſuche beaſtlye forte as his wicked ſonne Cham jeſted and ſcoffed at the ſame. Examples againſt drunkenneſſe.

Thorow drunkenneſſe Holophernes, that great and invincible monarche of the Aſſyrians, was overcome by a woman, having his head cut from his ſhoulders with a fauchone. Thorow drunkenneſſe king Herode was brought to ſuch ydiocie and fooliſh dotage, that he cauſed the head of Jhon the Baptiſt to be cut off, to ſatiſfie the requeſt of a dauncing ſtrumpet. That rich Epulo, of whom Luke maketh mention, was for his drunkenneſſe and ryotous exceſſe, condemned to the fire of hel for ever, with many moe examples which for ſhortnes I omit. Now, ſeeing than that drunkenneſſe is both offenſive to God, and bringeth ſuch evils in this lyfe preſent, let us, in the name of God, avoyde Luc. 16. Luc. 16.

How farre
drunkards are
estranged from
themselves.

What if God
blesse not our
meats.

Giving of
thanks before
meat and
after.

it as a most wicked thing and pernicious evill. For every drunkard is so farre estranged from himselfe, that as one in an extasie of mind, or rather in a playne phrensie, he may not be said to be *sui animi compos*, or a man of sounde wit, but rather a very Bedlem, or muche worse, no Christian but an Anti-christian; no member of Christ Jesus, but an impe of Sathan and a lymme of the devill. Wherefore, in the name of God, let us avoyde all exceſſe, imbrace temperancie and sobrietie, and receive so much meats and drinks as may fatisſie nature, not the insatiate appetite of our fleshly desires; knowing that except the Lord blesse our meats and drinks within our bodyes, and give them power and strength to nourish and feede the same, and our bodyes their naturall powers, every member to doo his office and dutie, our meates shall lye in our stomacks, stincking, smelling, and rotting, like filthie carion in a lothsom sinck. So farre of ought we to be from abusing the good creaturs of God by ryot, drunknesse, or exceſſe, that we ought never to take a morsell of bread, nor sope of drinke, without humble thanks to the Lord for the same. For we never read that our Saviour Christ ever eat or dranke but he gave thanks (or, as we call it, said grace) both before the receipt therof and after. This needed he not to have done in respect of himselfe, but for our erudition and learning, according to this saying, *omnis Christi actio nostra est instructio*: every action of our Saviour Christ is our example and instruction to follow as neere as we are able. And thus much of drunknesse, which God graunt may evry wher be avoided.

Spud. Shew me, I pray you, the state of that cuntrey a litle further: is it a welthie countrey within it selfe, or otherwyse poore and bare?

Philo. It is a most famous yland, a fertile cuntrey, and abounding with all maner of store, both of riches, treasure, and all things els whatsoever; but as it is a welthie and riche cuntrey, so are the inhabitaunts, from the highest to the lowest, from the priest to the popolare sorte, even all in generall, wonderfully inclyned to covetousnes and ambition; which thing whilest they follow, they can never be satisfied, for, *crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*: the love of mony doth by so much the more increafe, by how much more the monie it felse doth increafe; and the nature of a covetous man is such that *tam deest quod habet, quam quod non habet*: as well that thing which he hath, as that which he hath not, is wanting unto him. A covetouse man may wel be compared to hell, which ever gapeth and yawneth for more, and is never content with inough: for right as hell ever hunteth after more, so a covetous man, drowned in the quagmire or plash of avarice and ambition, having his *summam voluptatem* repofed in momentanie riches, is never content with inough, but still thirsteth for more, much like the man sicke of the ague, who the more he drinketh the more he thirsteth; the more he thirsteth the more he drinketh; the more he drinketh the more his disease increafeth. Therefore I hould it true which is writ, *burfa avari os est diaboli*; the powch of a rich covetous man is the mouth of the devill, which ever is open to receive, but alway shut to give.

Ailgna a famous yland.

The nature of a covetous man.

The infaciable desire of a covetouse man.

The purse of a riche man.

Spud. But they will easily wipe away this blot, namely in saying, are we not bound to provyde for our selves, our wyves, our children, and famelie? Doth not the apostle hold him for an infidell and deneger of the faith, who provydeth not for his wyfe and family? Is it not good to lay up som-

thing against a stormie day? wherefore they wil rather deeme themselves good husbands, than covetous or ambitious persons.

How farre
every man is
bound to pro-
vyde for his
familie.

Immoderate
care for riches
reproved.

Land-lords
racke their
tenantes.

Philo. Every Christen man is bound, in conscience before God, to provide for their household and family, but yet so as his immoderat care surpasse not the bands, nor yet transcend the limits of true godlynes. His chiefeft trust and care is to rest onely in the Lord, who giveth liberally to every one that asketh of him in verity and truth, and reprocheth no man; and withall he is to use such ordinarie meanes as God hath appointed to the performaunce of the same. But so farre from covetousnes, and from immoderate care, wold the Lord have us, that we ought not this day to care for to morrow, for (faith he) sufficient to the day is the travail of the same. After all these things (with a distrustfull and inordinat care) do the heathen seek, who know not God, faith our Saviour Christ; but be you not like them. And yet I say, as we are not to distrust the providence of God, or despaire for any thing, so are we not to presume, nor yet to tempt the Lord our God, but to use such secundary and instrumental meanes as he hath commaunded and appointed, to the end and purpose to get our owne lyving and maintenance withall. But this people, leaving these godly meanes, do all runne headlong to covetousnes and ambition, attempting all waies and assaying al meanes possible to exaggerat and heap up riches, the thick clay of damnation to themselves for ever. So (likewise) landlords make marchandise of their pore tenants, racking their rents, raising their fines and incommes, and setting them so straitely upon the tenter hookes, as no man can lyve on them. Besides that, as though this pillage and pollage were not rapacious enough, they take in and inclose commons, moores, heaths,

and other common pastures, wher out the poore common-
altie were wont to have all their forrage and feeding for
their cattell, and (which is more) corne for them felves to
lyve uppon: all which are now in most places taken from
them by these greedye puttockes, to the great impoverish-
ing and utter beggering of whole townes and parishes, whose
tragicall cries and incessant clamors have long since pearced
the skyes, and presented themselves before the Majesty of
God, saying, How long, Lord, how long wilt thou deferre
to revenge this villanie of thy poore faincts and unworthie
members uppon the earth? Take heed, therefore, you riche
men, that poll and pill the poore, for the bloud of as manye
as miscarie any maner of way thorow your injurious ex-
actions, sinister oppreessions, and indirect dealings, shall be
powred uppon your heads at the great daye of the Lord.
Curfed is he (saith our Saviour Chrif) that offendeth one of
these little ones: it were better that a milstone were hanged
about his neck, and he cast into the middest of the sea.
Chrift so entirely loveth his poore members uppon earth
that he imputeth the contumely which is done to anie one
of them to be done to himfelfe, and will revenge it as done
to himfelfe. Wherfor God give them grace to lay open
their inclosures againe, to let fall their rents, fines, incommes,
and other impositions, wherby God is offended, their poore
brethren beggered, and, I feare mee, the whole realme will
be brought to utter ruine and decay, if this mischiefe be not
met withall, and incountred with verie shortlie. For these
inclosures be the causes why rich men eat up poore men, as
beasts doo eat grasse: these, I say, are the caterpillers and
devouring locustes that mafsacre the poore, and eat up the
whole realme to the destruction of the same: the Lord re-
moove them!

Inclosing of
commons
from the
poore.

Injurie to
Chrift his
members is
injury to
Chrift.

Inclosures.

Lawyers
ruffling in
poore mens
riches.

Upon the other side, the lawyers they goe ruffling in their silks, velvets, and chaines of gold: they build gorgeous howses, sumptuous edifices, and stately turrets: they keep a port like mightie potentates; they have bands and retinewes of men attendant uppon them daylie; they purchase castels and towers, lands and lordships, and what not? And all uppon the polling and pilling of the poore commons.

Oyntment to
greefe lawiers
in the first
withall.

They have so good consciences that all is fish that comes to the net; thei refuse nothing that is offred, and what they do for it in preferring their poore clients cause, the Lorde knoweth, and one day they shall finde it. If you have *argent*, or rather *rubrum unguentum*, I dare not say gold, but red oyntment to grease them in the fist withall, than your sute shall want no furtherance; but if this be wanting, than farewell clyent; he may go shooe the goose for any good successe he is like to have of his matter: without this, sheriffes and officers wil retorne writs with a *tarde venit*, or with a *non est inventus*, smally to the poore mans profit. So long as any of this ointment is dropping, they wil beare him in hand his matter is good and just, and all to keep him in ure, till all be gon, and than will they tell him his matter is naught: and if one aske them why they tould not their clients so in the beginning? they will answere, I knew not so much at the first, the fault is in himselfe; he tould me the best, but not the worst; he shewed mee not this evidence and that evidence, this president and that president, turning all the fault upon the fuggester; wheras the whole fault indeed is in himselfe, as his own conscience can beare witnesse. In prefence of their clients they will be so earnest one with another, as one (that knew not their flaighes wold thinke they would go together by the eares);

The pretended
excuse of
lawers when
their cliants
have looft
their pleas.

The flaightie
practices of
lawers.

this is to draw on their clients withal ; but immediatly after, their clients being gon, they laugh in their sleeves to see how pretily they fetch in such sommes of money ; and that, under the pretence of equitie and iustice. But though thei can for a time (*prestigiatorum instar*), like cunning deceivers, cast a mist before the blind world, yet the Lord, who seeth (suborned by none) the secrets of all harts, shall make them manifest to al the world, and reward them according to their doings. The marchant men, by their marting, chaffering and changing, by their counterfeit balances and untrue waights, and by their surprising of their wares heap up infinit treasures. The artificer and occupiers, even all in generall, will not sell their wares for no reasonable price, but will sweare and teare pittifully, that such a thing cost them so much, and such a thing so much, wheras they swear as false as the lyving Lord is true. But one day let them be sure that the Lord (who saith thou shalt not sweare at all, nor deceive thy brother in bargaining) will revenge this villanie done to his majestie.

The fraudulent dealing of marchant men.

Artificers.

Into such a ruinous estat hath covetousnes now brought that land, that in plentie of all things there is great scarfitie and dearth of all thinges. So that that which might have been bought heretofor, within this twentie or fourtie yeers, for twentie shillings, is now worth twentie nobles, or xx pound. That which than worth twentie pound is now worth a c. pound, and more : wherby the rich men have so balaunced their chefts with gold and silver, as they cracke againe. And to such excesse is this covetousnes growne, as every one that hath money will not stick to take his neighbors house over his head, long before his yeers be expired : wherthorow many a poore man, with his wyfe, children, and

Great dearth in plenty of all things.

Taking of howses over mens heads.

The desperate
desire of men
to get money.

Many brought
to rufull end
thorow
meanes of gold
and filver.

Math. 6.
Testimonies
out of the
word of God
againſt cove-
tousnes.

whole famelie are forced to begge their bread all their dayes after. Another forte, who flow in welth, if a poore man have eyther houle or land, they will never reſt untill they have purchaſed it, giving him not the thirde parte of that it is worth. Beſides all this, ſo deſperately given are many, that for the acquiring of ſilver and gold, they will not s[t]icke to imbrew their hands, and both their armes in the blood of their owne parents and freends moſt unnaturally. Other ſome will not make any conſcience to ſweare and forſweare themſelves for ever, to lye, diſſemble, and deceive the deereſt friends they have in the world. Therefore the heathen poet, Virgill, ſaid very well, *O ſacra auri flames, quid non mortalia pectora cogis*: Oh curſed deſire of gold, what miſchief is it but thou forceſt man to attempt it for the love of thee! This immoderat thirſt of gold and monie bringeth infinit number to ſhameful end; ſome as homicides for murdering and killing; ſome as latrones, for robbing and ſtealing: ſome for one thing, ſome for another; ſo that ſurely I think *major eſt numerus hominum, quos dira avaritiæ peſtis abſorpsit, quam quos gladius vel enſis perforavit*: the number of thoſe whom the peſtilence of avarice hath ſwallowed up is greater than the number of thoſe whom the ſword hath deſtroid. The Lord aſſwage the heat hereof with the oyle of his grace, if it be his good pleaſure and wil.

Spud. If I might be ſo bold, I wold requeſt you to ſhew me, out of the word of God, where this deteſtable vice is reprov'd.

Philo. Our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, the arch-doctor of all truth, in his Evangely, the ſixt of Mathew, ſaith, Be not carefull for to morow day, for the morow ſhall care for it ſelfe.

Again, be not carfull for apparell, what you ſhall put

on, nor for meat what you shall eat, but seeke for the kingdome of heaven, and the righteousnes therof, and all these things shal be given unto you. He charged his disciples to be so farre from covetousnes, as not to cary two coates with them in their jorneyes, nor yet any money in their purses. He tould his disciples another time, stryving which of them should be the greatest, that he who wold be the greatest must condescend to be servant of all. When the people would have advaunced him to have been a king he refused it, and hid him self. He telleth us, we cannot serve two maisters, God and Mammon: he biddeth us not to set our minds uppon covetousnes; inferring that wher our riches be there will our harts be also. He faith, it is harder for a rich man (that is, for a man whose trust is in riches,) to enter into the kingdome of God, than for a camell to go thorow the eye of a needle. The Apostle biddeth us, if we have meat and drinke and clothing, to be content, for they that will be rich (faith he) fall into diverse temptations and snares of the devill, which drowne men in perdition. David faith, Man disquieteth him selfe in vaine heaping up riches, and cannot tell who shall possesse them. Salom. compareth a covetous man to him that murthereth and sheadeth innocent bloud. Hell and destruction are never ful, so the eyes of men can never be satisfied. The Apostle S. Paule faith, neither whormongers, adulterers, nor covetous persons, nor extortioners shal ever enter into the kingdome of heaven. And faith further, that the love of monie is the root of al evil. Christ biddeth us be liberal and lend to them that have need, not looking for any restitution again; and never to turn our face away from any poore man, and than the face of the Lord shall not be turned away from us. By

Luc. 6.
Math. xx.

I Timo. vi.

Pfalm 39.

Proverb I.
Prove. 27.

Mat. 5.
Luc. 6.

these few places it is manifest how farre from al covetousnes the Lord wold have al Christians be.

Spud. Be their any examples in Scriptures to shew foorth the punishments of the same, inflicted upon offenders therin?

The punish-
ment of cove-
tousnes shew-
ed by exam-
ples.

4 Reg. 5.

Num. 22.

Sa. viii.

Act. 5.

Philo. The scripture is full of such fearful examples of the just judgements of God powred upon them that have offended herein; wherof I will recite three or four, for the satisfiing of your godly mind. Adam was cast out of Paradise for coveting that fruit which was inhibited him to eat. Giese, the servant of Elizeus the prophet, was smitten with an incurable leprosie, for that he, to satisfie his covetous desire, exacted golde, silver, and riche garments of Naaman, the K. of Siria his servant. Balaam was reprovved of his asse for his covetousnes in going to curse the children of Israel at the request of K. Balac, who promised him abundance of gold and silver so to doo. Achab, the K., for covetousnes to have pore Naboth his viniard, slew him and dyed after himselfe, with all his progeny, a shameful death. The sonnes of Samuel were, for their insaciabie covetousnes, de- teined from ever injoying their fathers kingdome. Judas, for covetousnes of mony, sould the Saviour of the world and betrayed him to the Jewes, but afterward dyed a miserable death, his bellye bursting, and his bowels gushing out. Ananias and Saphira his wife, for covetousnes in concealing part of the price of their lands from the apostles, were both slain, and died a fearful death. Achan was stoned to death, by the Lord his commandement, for his covetousnes in stealing gold, silver, and jewels at the facking of Jericho, and al his goods were burned presently. Thus you see how for covetousnes of mony, in all ages, men have made ship-

wrack of their consciences, and in the end, by the just judgement of God, have dyed fearful deaths, whose judgments I leave to the Lord.

Spud. Seeing that covetousnes is so wicked a sin, and so offensive both to God and man, and pernicious to the soule, I marveile what moveth men to followe the same as they doo.

Ph. Two things move men to affect mony so much as they doo: the one for feare least they shold fal into povertie and beggery, (oh, ridiculous infidelitie!) the other to be advanced and promoted to high dignities and honors upon earth. And thei see the world is such that he who hath moni enough shalbe *rabbied* and maistered at every word, and withal saluted with the vaine title of worshipfull, and right worshipfull, though notwithstanding he be a dunghill gentleman, or a gentleman of the first head, as they use to terme them. And to such outrage is it growne, that now adayes every butcher, shoemaker, tailer, cobbler, husbandman, and other; yea, every tinker, pedler, and swinherd, every artificer and other, *gregarii ordinis*, of the vilest sorte of men that be, must be called by the vain name of maisters at every word. But it is certen that no wyse man will intitle them with any of these names, worshipfull and maister (for they are names and titles of dignitie, proper to the godly wyse, for some speciall vertue inherent, either els in respect of their birth, or calling, due unto them) but such titivillers, flattering parasits, and glosing Gnatoes as flatter them, expecting some pleasure or benefit at their hands; which thing, if they were not blowen up with the bellows of pride, and puffed up with the wind of vainglory, they might easly perceive. For certen it is they do but mocke

What make men to affect money.

Every beggar almost is called maister at every word.

Refusing of vaine titles.

and flatter them with these titles, knowing that they deserve nothing lesse. Wherefore, like good recusants of that thing which is evill, they should refuse those vainglorious names, remembring the words of our Saviour Christ, saying, Be not called maister, in token there is but one onely true Maister and Lord in heaven : which is only true Maister and Lord. God graunt all other may followe, bothe in life and name, until they come to perfect man in Jesus Christ.

Spud. The people beeing so fet upon covetousnes, as I gather by your speeches they be, is it possible that they wil lend money without usurie, or without some hostage, guage, or pawn? for usurie followeth covetousnes, as the shadowe dooth the bodie.

Great Usurie in Ailgna.

Philo.

Usury.

It is as impossible for any to borrowe money there (for the most part), without usurie and loane, or without some good hostage, guage, or pledge, as it is for a dead man to speak with audible voice.

The positive lawes.

Spud. I have heard say that the positive and statute lawes there doo permit them to take usurye, limittig them how much to take for every pound.

Philo. Although the civile lawes (for the avoiding of further inconveniences) doo permit certain sommes of money to be given overplus, beyond or aboove the principall, for the loane of mony lent, yet are the usurers no more discharged from the guilt of usurie before God therby, then the adulterous Jewes were from whordome, because Moyfes gave them a permissive law for every man to put away

their wives that would, for every light trifle. And yet the lawes there gave no libertie to commit usurie; but seeing how much it rageth, lest it should exceed, rage further, and over flowe the banks of all reason and godlynes, as covetousnes is a raging sea and a bottomlesse pit, and never fatisfied nor contented, they have limited them within certain meeres and banks (to bridle the insatiable desires of covetous men), beyond the which it is not lawfull for any to go. But this permission of the lawes argueth not that it is lawfull to take usury, no more (I say) then the permission of Moyfes argueth that whordome and adulterie is lawfull and good, because Moyfes permitted them to put away their wives for the avoiding of greater evill: for, as Christ said to the Jewes, from the beginning it was not so, so say I to these usurers, from the beginning it was not so, nor yet ought so to be.

The lawes of
Ailgna permit
no usurie.

Spud. If no interest were permitted, then no man would lend, and then how should the poor doo? Wherefore the lawes, that permit some small over-plus therin, doo very well.

Philo. *Non faciendum est malum, ut inde veneat bonum:* we must not doo evil, that good may come of it. Yet the lawes, in permitting certain reasonable gain to be received for the loane of money lent, lest otherwise the poore should quaille (for without some commoditie the rich would not lend,) have not doone much amisse; but if they had quite cut it of, and not yeelded at all to any such permission, they had doon better. But heerin the intent of the lawe is to be perpended, which was to impale within the forrest, or park, of reasonable and conscionable gain, men who cared not how much they could extorte out of poore mens hands

The lawes
permit some
overplus, but
commaund it.

for the loane of their money lent, and not to authorise any man to commit usurie, as though it were lawful because it is permitted.

Forbidding to
outrage is
mischeef is
not permission
to commit
mischeef.

Therefore those that say that the lawes there doo allow of usury, and licence men to commit it freely, doo flaunder the lawes and are woorthy of reprehension; for though the lawes say, thou shalt not take aboove ijs. in the pound, x li in the hundred, and so forth, dooth this proove that it is lawful to take so much, or rather that thou shalt not take more then that? If I say to a man, thou shalt not give him aboove one or two blowes, dooth this proove that I licence him to give him one or two blowes, or rather that he shal not give him any at al, or if he doo, he shal not exceede or passe the bands of resonable mesure? so this law dooth but mitigate the penalty, for it saith that the party that taketh but x li, for the use of an c li, loseth but the x li, not his principal.

Spud. Then I perceive, if usurie be not lawful by the lawes of the realm, then is it not lawful by the lawes of God.

Math. 5, 6.
Luc. 6.

The word of
God against
usurie.

Philo. You may be sure of that; for our Saviour Christe willeth us to be far from covetousnes and usury, as he saith, "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow turn not thy face away." Againe, "Lend of thy goods to them who are not able to pay thee again, and thy reward shalbe great in heaven." If wee must lend our goods, then, to them who are not able to pay us again, no, not so much as the bare thing lent, where is the interest, the usurie, the gain, and over-plus we fish for so much? Therefore our Saviour Christe saith, *beatius est dare, potius quam accipere*: it is more blessed to give, then to receive. In the 22 of

Exodus, Deut. 24, 23, Levit. 25, Nehe. 5, Eze. 22, 18, and many other places, we are forbidden to use any kinde of ufury, or interest, or to receive again any over-plus besides the principall, either in money, corne, wine, oyle, beasts, cattel, meat, drink, cloth, or any other thing els what soever. David asketh a question of the Lord, saying, Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, and who shall rest in thy holy hill? Wherto he giveth the solution him self, saying, Even he that leadeth an incorrupt life, and hath not given his money unto usurie, nor taken reward against the innocent: who so dooth these things shall never fall. In the 15 of Deut. the Lord willeth us not to crave again the thing we have lent to our neighbor, for it is the Lords free year. If it be not lawful (then) to aske again that which is lent (for it is not the law of good conscience for thee to exact it, if thou be abler to beare it then the other to pay it,) much lesse is it lawful to demaund any usury or over-plus. And for this cause the Lord saith, Let there be no begger amongst you, nor poore person amongst the tribes of Israel. Thus, you see, the word of God abandonneth usurie even to hel, and all writers, both divine and prophane, yea, the very heathen people, moved onely by the instinct of nature and rules of reason, have alwaies abhord it. Therefore Cato, beeing demaunded what usurie was, asked againe, what it was to kill a man? making usurie equivalent with murder: and good reason, for he that killeth a man riddeth him out of his paines at once, but he that taketh usury is long in butchering his patient, suffering him by little and little to languish, and sucking out his hart blood, never leaveth him so long as he feeleth any vitall blood (that is lucre and gaine) comming forth of him. The usurer killeth not one

Exodus 20.
Deut. 24, 23.
Levit. 25.
Nehe. 5.
Ezech. 22, 18.

Pfalm 25.

When it is not
lawfull to aske
again our
goods lent.

Hethen men
against usury
and interest.

Usury equall
with murder.

Sute commenced
against him
that is not
able to pay
aswel the
usury as the
principall.

To prison with
him that can-
not pay the
usury.

No mercy in
imprisoning of
poore men for
usury.

No crueltie to
be shewed, but
mercy and
compassion
ought to be
extended.

but many, bothe husband, wife, children, servants, famelie, and all, not sparing any. And if the poore man have not wherewith to pay, as wel the interest as the principall, when soever this greedy cormorant dooth demaund it, then sute shalbe commenced against him; out go butter flies and writts, as thick as haile; so the poore man is apprehended and brought *coram nobis*, and beeing once more convented, judgement condemnatorie and definitive sentence proceedeth against him, compelling him to pay, aswel the usury and the loane of the money, as the money lent. But if he have not to fatisfie as wel the one as th' other, then to Bocardo goeth he as round as a ball, where he shalbe sure to lye until he rotte, one peece from the other, without satisfaction bee made. Oh, cursed caitive! no man, but a devil; no Christian, but a cruel Tartarian and mercilesse Turck! darest thou look up toward heaven, and canst thou hope to be faved by the death of Christe that suffereest thine owne flesh and blood, thine owne bretheren and sisters in the Lord, and, which is more, the flesh and blood of Christ Jesus, vessels of salvation, coheirs with him of his superiall kingdom, adoptive sonnes of his grace, and finally saints in heaven, to lye and rot in prison for want of payment of a little drosse, which at the day of dome shall beare witness against thee, gnaw thy flesh like a canker, and condemn thee for ever? The very stones of the prison walles shall rise up against thee, and condemn thee for thy crueltie. Is this love? is this charitie? is this to doo to others as thou wouldest wish others to doe to thee? or rather as thou wouldest wish the Lord to doe unto thee? Art thou a good member of the bodie, which not onely cuttest of thy selfe from the vine, as a rotten braunch and void lop, but also

hewest off other members from the same true vine, Christe Jesus? No, no; thou art a member of the devil, a limme of Sathan, and a childe of perdition.

Wee ought not to handle our bretheren in such forte for any worldly matter whatsoever. Wee ought to shewe mercie and not crueltie to our bretheren, to remit trespasses and offences, rather then exact punishment; referring all revenge to him who faith, *Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam*: Vengeance is mine, and I wil rewarde (faith the Lord).

Beleeve mee, it greeveth mee to heare (walking in the streets) the pitiful cryes, and miserable complaints of poore prisoners in durance for debt, and like so to continue all their life, destitute of libertie, meat, drink (though of the meanest forte), and clothing to their backs, lying in filthie strawe, and lothsome dung, wurse then anie dogge, voide of all charitable consolation and brotherly comfort in this world, wishing and thyrsting after death to set them at libertie, and loose them from their shackles, gives, and yron bands.

The pitiful crying of prisoners in prison for debt.

Notwithstanding some mercileffe tygers are growen to such barbarous crueltie that they blush not to say, Tush! he shall either paye mee the whole, or els lye there till his heels rot from his buttocks, and before I will release him I will make dice of his bones. But take heed, thou devill (for I dare not call thee a man), lest the Lord say to thee, as he said to that wicked fervaunt (who having great sommes forgiven him, wold not forgive his brother his small debte, but, catching him by the throte, said, pay that thou owest), bind him hands and feet, and cast him into utter darknes, wher shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

A tygerlike tyrannical saying.

Math. xviii.
Mark xi.

An usurer is worse than a thief, for the one stealeth but

An usurer worse than a thief.

for need, the other for coveitousnes and excesse: the one stealeth but in the night commonly; the other daylie and hourelly, night and daye, at all times indifferently.

An usurer
worser than a
Jew.

An usurer is worser than a Jew, for they, to this daye, will not take anye usurie of their brethren, according to the lawe of God.

An usurer
worser than
Judas.

They are worser than Judas, for he betraied Christ but once, made restitution, and repented for it (though his repentance sprang not of faith, but of despaire), but these usurers betray Christ in his members daylie and hourly, without any remorse or restitution at all.

Usurers wurse
then hell.

They are wurse then hel it self, for it punisheth only the wicked and reprobate, but the usurer maketh no difference of any, but punisheth all alike. They are crueller then death, for it destroyeth but the body and goeth no further, but the usurer destroyeth both body and soule for ever. And, to be breef, the usurer is wurse then the devil himself, for the devil plagueth but onely those that are in his hands, or els those whome God permitteth him; the usurer plagueth not onely those that are within his jurisdiction alredy, but even all other without permission of any. Therefore, saith

An usurer
wurse then
death.

An usurer
wurse then the
devil.

The sayings of
godly fathers
and writers
against usury.

Ambrose, if any man commit usurie, it is extortion, ravin, and pillage, and he ought to dye. Alphonfus called usury nothing els then a life of death. Lycurgus banished all kind of usury out of his lands. Cato did the same. Ageffilaus, generall of the Lacedemonians, burned the usurers bookes in the open market places. Claudius Vaspatianus, and after him Alexander Severus made sharpe lawes against usury, and utterly extirped the same. Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, and generally, all writers, bothe holy and prophane, have sharpely inveighed against this devouring

Usurers pu-
nished with
fundry tor-
tures.

canker of usury; and yet cannot we, that fain would be called Christians, avoid it. And if it be true that I heare say, there be no men so great doers in this noble facultie and famous science as the scriveners be: for it is sayd (and I feare me too true) that there are some to whome is committed a hundred or two of poundes, of some more, of some lesse, they putting in good sureties to the owners for the repayment of the same againe, with certaine allowance for the loane thereof; then come there poore men to them, desiring them to lend them such a som of money, and they will recompence them at their owne desires, who making refusal at the firste, as though they had it not, (to acuate the minds of the poore petitioners withall), at last they lend them how much they desire, receiving of the poore men what interest and assurance they lust themselves, and binding them, their lands, goodes, and all, with forfeiture thereof if they fayle of payment: where note by the way the scrivener is the instrument wherby the divell worketh the frame of this wicked woorke of usurie, hee beeing rewarded with a good fleece for his labour. For firste, he hath a certaine allowance of the archdivel who owes the money for helping him to such vent for his coyne: secondly, he hath a greate deale more usurie to himselfe of him who boroweth the money, than he alloweth the owner of the mony: and, thirdly, he hath not the least part for making the writings betwene them. And thus the poore man is so implicate and wrapped in on everie side, as it is impossible for him ever to get out of the briers without losse of all that ever hee hath, to the very skin. Thus the riche are enriched, the poore beggered and Christ Jesus dishonored everie way, God be mercifull unto us! *De his hactenus.*

Scriveners the
devils agents
to set forward
usurie.

The scriveners
fleece or pit-
taunce for his
paynes.

Spud. Having (by the grace of Christe) hytherto spoken

of fundrie abuses of that countrie, let us proceed a little further. Howe doe they sanctifie and keepe the Sabbaoth day? In godly Christian exercises, or els in prophane pastimes and pleasures?

The maner of sanctifying the Sabaoth
in Ailgna.

Philo.

The Sabaoth day of some is well sanctified, namely in hearing the Word of God read, preached, and interpreted in private and publique prayers, in singing of godly psalmes, in celebrating the sacraments, and in collecting for the poore and indigent; which are the true uses and ends wherto the sabaoth was ordained. But other some spend the sabaoth day (for the most part) in frequenting of baudie stage-plays and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of Misrule (for so they call a certaine kinde of play which they use), may-games, church-ales, feasts, and wakeffes: in pyping, dauncing, dicing, carding, bowling, tennisse-playing; in beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and such like; in keeping of faires and markets on the sabaoth; in keeping Courts and leets; in football playing, and such other devilish pastimes; reading of lascivious and wanton bookes, and an infinit number of such like practises and prophane exercises used upon that day, wherby the Lord God is dishonoured, his sabaoth violated, his woord neglected, his sacraments contemned, and his people mervelously corrupted and caryed away from true vertue and godlynes. Lord, remoove these exercises from thy sabaoth!

Prophane
exercises upon
the sabaoth
day.

Spud. You wil be deemed too too stoicall, if you should

restrain men from these exercises upon the sabaoth; for they suppose that that day was ordained and consecrate to that end and purpose, only to use what kinde of exercises they think good themselves: and was it not so?

Phi. After that the Lord God had created the world, and all things therein contained, in six dayes, in the seventh day he rested from all his woorks (that is, from creating them, not from governing them) and therefore hee commaunded the seventh day should be kept holy in all ages to the end of the world: then, after that in effect 2000 yeeres, he iterated this commaundement, when he gave the law in Mount Horeb to Moyse, and in him to all the Children of Ifrael, saying, Remember (forget it not) that thou keep holy the seventh day, &c. If we must keep it holy, then must we not spend it in such vain exercises as please ourselves, but in such godly exercises as he in his holy woord hath commaunded. And (in my judgement) the Lord our God ordained the seventh day to be kept holy for foure causes especially. First, to put us in minde of his wonderful workmanship and creation of the world and creatures besides. Secondly, that his woord (the Church assembling together) might be preached, interpreted, and expounded; his sacraments ministred sincerely, according to the prescript of his woord, and that suffrages and praiers, bothe privat and publique, might be offered to his excellent majestie. Thirdly, for that every Christian man might repose himself from corporall labour, to the end they might the better sustaine the travailes of the week to insue; and also to the end that all beasts and cattel, which the Lord hath made for mans use, as helps and adjuments unto him in his daylie affaires and businesse, might rest and refresh

When the
sabaoth was
ordained.

Wherefore the
sabaoth was
instituted.

them selves, the better to go thorow in their traveiles afterward. For, as the hethen man knew very wel, *sine alterna requie non est durabile quicquam*: without some rest or repose there is not any thing durable, or able to continue long. Fourthly, to th' end it might be a typical figure or signitor to point (as it were) with the finger, and to cypher foorth and shadowe unto us that blessed rest and thryfe happie joye which the faithfull shall possesse after the day of judgement in the kingdome of heaven. Wherefore, seeing the sabaoth was instituted for these causes, it is manifest that it was not appointed for the maintenance of wicked and ungodly pastymes and vaine pleasures of the flesh; which God abhorreth, and all good men from their hartes do loth and deteste.

Punishment
for violating
the sabaoth.

The man, of whome we read in the law, for gathering of a few small stickes upon the sabaoth was stoned to death by the commaundement of God from the theator of heaven.

Violaters of
the sabaoth.

Than, if he were stoned for gathering a few stickes upon the sabaoth day, which in some cafes might be for necessities sake, and did it but once, what shall they be who all the sabaoth dayes of their lyfe give themselves to nothing els but to wallow in all kind of wickednesse and sinne, to the great contempt both of the Lord and his sabaoth? And though they have played the lazie lurdens al the weke before, yet that day of set purpose they wil toile and labour, in contempt of the Lord and his sabaoth. But let them be sure, as he that gathered stickes upon the sabaoth was stoned for his contempt of the same, so shall they be stoned, yea, grinded to peeces for their contempt of the Lord in his sabaoth.

The Jewes are verye strict in keeping their fabaoths ; in so muche as they will not dresse their meats and drinks upon the same day, but set it on the tables the day befor. They go not above ij miles upon the fabaoth day ; they suffer not the body of any malefactor to hang upon the gallows upon the fabaoth day, with legions of such supersticions. Wherin as I do acknowledge they are but too scrupelous, and overshoot the marke, so we are therein plaine contemptuous and negligent, shooting short of the marke altogether. Yet I am not so strait laced, that I would have no kinde of worke done upon that daye, if present necessitie of the thing require it (for Christe hath taught us the fabaoth was made for man, and not man for the fabaoth,) but not for every light trifle, which may as well be done on other dayes as upon that day. And although the day it self, in respect of the very nature and originall therof, be no better than another day, for there is no difference of dayes, except we become temporizers, all being alike good ; yet because the Lord our God hath commaunded it to be sanctified and kept holy to him self, let us (like obedient and obsequious children) submit our selves to so looving a father, for els we spit against heaven, we strive against the stream, and we contemn him in his ordinances. But (perchance) you wil aske me, whither the true use of the fabaoth consist in outward abstaining from bodilye labour and travaile ? I answere, no : the true use of the fabaoth (for Christians are not bound onely to the ceremonie of the day,) consisteth, as I have said, in hearing the woord of God truly preached, thereby to learn and to doo his wil, in receiving the sacraments (as seales of his grace towards us), rightly administred, in using publique and private prayer,

The Jewes
very precise in
keeping
fabaoth.

No work to be
done upon the
fabaoth ex-
cept necessite
inforce it.

Wherin the
true use of the
fabaoth con-
sisteth.

in thanksgiving to God for all his benefits, in finging of godly Psalmes and other spirituall exercises and meditations, in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes, and breefly in the true obedience of the inward man. And yet, notwithstanding, wee must abstain from the one to attend upon the other: that is, wee must refrain all bodily labours, to the end wee may the better be resiant at these spirituall exercises uppon the sabaoth day.

This is the true use and end of the Lord his saboth, who graunt that we may rest in him for ever!

Spud. Having shewed the true use of the saboth, let us go forward to speke of those abuses particularlye, wherby the saboth of the Lord is prophaned. And first begin with stage playes and enterluds: what is your opinion of them? Are they not good examples to youth to fray them from sinne?

Of Stage-playes, and Enterluds, with their
wickednes.

Philo.

All stage-playes, enterluds, and commedies are either of divyne or prophane matter: if they be of divine matter, than are they most intollerable, or rather sacrilegious; for that the blessed word of God is to be handled reverently, gravely, and sagely, with veneration to the glorious majestie of God, which shineth therein, and not scoffingly, flowtingly, and jybingly, as it is upon stages in playes and enterluds, without any reverence, worship, or veneration to the same. The word of our salvation, the price of Christ his blood, and the merits of his passion were not given to be derided and

jested at, as they be in their filthie playes and enterluds on stages and scaffolds, or to be mixt and interlaced with bawdry, wanton shewes, and uncomely gestures, as is used (every man knoweth) in these playes and enterludes. In the first of Jhon we are taught that the word is God, and God is the word : wherfore who so ever abuseth this word of our God on stages in playes and enterluds abuseth the majesty of God in the same, maketh a mocking stock of him, and purchaseth to himselfe eternal damnation. And no marveil ; for the sacred word of God, and God himselfe is never to be thought of, or once named but with great feare, reverence, and obedience to the same. All the holy companie of heaven, angels, archangels, cherubins, seraphins, and all other powers whatsoever ; yea, the devills themselves (as James faith) doo tremble and quake at the naming of God, and at the presence of his wrath : and doo these mockers and flowters of his majesty, these dissembeling hypocrites, and flattering Gnatoes, think to escape unpunished ? Beware, therefore, you masking players, you painted sepulchres, you doble dealing ambodexters, be warned betymes, and, lik good computistes, cast your accompts before, what wil be the reward therof in the end, least God destroy you in his wrath : abuse God no more, corrupt his people no longer with your dregges, and intermingle not his blessed word with such prophane vanities. For at no hand it is not lawfull to mixt scurrilitie with divinitie, nor divinitie with scurrilitie.

The deriding
of the word of
God in stage
playes.

Reverence to
the majestie of
God due.

A warning to
players.

Theopompus mingled Moyfes law with his writings, and therefore the Lord stroke him madd. Theodictes began the same practise, but the Lord stroke him blind for it ; with many others, who, attempting the like devyses, were al

Not lawfull to
intermixt
divynitie with
scurrilitie.

What if playes
be of prophane
matter.

overthrowne and died miserably: besides, what is their judgement in the other world the Lord onely knoweth. Upon the other side, if their playes be of prophane matters, than tend they to the dishonor of God, and nourishing of vice, both which are damnable. So that whither they be the one or the other, they are quite contrarie to the word of grace, and sucked out of the devills teates to nourish us in ydolatrie, hethenrie, and sinne. And therefore they, carying the note, or brand, of God his curse uppon their backs, which way foever they goe, are to be hissed out of all Christian kingdomes, if they wil have Christ to dwell amongst them.

Spud. Are you able to shewe, that ever any good men, from the beginning, have resisted playes and enterluds?

The word of
God, al writ-
ers, counsels
and fathers
have writ
against playes
and enterluds.

Philo. Not onely the word of God doth overthrow them, addjudging them and the maintainers of them to hell, but also all holie counsels, and sinodes, both generall, nationall, and provincially, together with all writers, both divyne and prophane, ever since the beginning, have disallowed them, and writ (almost) whole volumes against them.

The learned father Tertullian, in his booke *de Speculo*, faith that playes were consecrat to that false ydoll Bacchus, for that he is said to have found out and invented strong drinke.

Wherefore
playes were
ordeined.

Augustinus, *de civit. Dei*, faith that plaies were ordeined by the devill, and consecrat to heathen gods, to draw us from Christianitie to ydolatrie, and gentilisme. And in another place, *Pecunias histrionibus dare vitium est innane, non virtus*: to give money to players is a greivous sin.

Chrisostome calleth those playes *festa Sathani*, feasts of the devill. Lactantius, an ancient learned father, faith, *Histrionum impudissimi gestus, nihil aliud nisi libidinem*

movent: the shamelesse gestures of plaiers serue to nothing so much as to move the flesh to lust and unclenneffe. And therefore in the 30 Counsell of Carthage and Synode of Laodicea, it was decreed that no Christen man or woman should resort to playes and enterludes, where is nothing but blasphemie, scurrilitie, and whordome maintained. Scipio, seeing the Romaines bente to erect theaters and places for plaies, dehorted them from it with the most prudent reasons and forcible arguments. Valerius Maximus faith, Playes were never brought up *sine regni rubore*, without shame to the cuntrey. Arist. debarreth youth accessse to playes and enterluds, least they seeking to quench the thirst of Venus, doo quench it with a pottle of fire. Augustus banished Ovid for making bookes of love, enterluds and such other amorous trumperie.

Concilium 3.
Cartha. cap.
11. Synode
Laodicea,
cap. 54.

Writers both
divyne and
prophane
against playes
and enterluds.

Constantius ordeined that no player shold be admitted to the table of the Lord. Than, seeing that playes were first invented by the devil, practised by the heathen gentiles, and dedicat to their false ydols, goddes and goddeesses, as the howse, stage, and apparell to Venus, the musicke to Apollo, the penning to Minerva and the Muses, the action and pronuntiation to Mercurie and the rest, it is more than manifest that they are no fit exercyses for a Christen man to follow. But if there were no evill in them save this, namely, that the arguments of tragedies is anger, wrath, immunitie, crueltie, injurie, incest, murther, and such like, the persons or actors are goddes, goddeesses, furies, fyends, haggies, kinges, queenes, or potentates. Of comedies the matter and ground is love, bawdrie, cofenage, flattery, whordome, adulterie; the persons, or agents, whores, queanes, bawdes, scullions, knaves, and curtesans, lecherous old men, amorous young men, with

The ends of
playes and
enterluds.

The argu-
ments of
tragedies.

The ground of
comedies.

Theaters and
curtaines Ve-
nus pallaces.

No playes
comparable to
the word of
God.

He is curfed
that faith
playes and
enterluds are
comparable to
fermons.

fuch like of infinit varietie. If, I fay, there were nothing els but this, it were fufficient to withdraw a good Chriftian from the using of them; for fo often as they goe to thofe howfes where players frequent, thei goe to Venus pallace, and Sathans fynagogue to worship devils, and betray Chrift Jefus.

Spud. But, notwithstanding, I have hard some hold opinion that they be as good as fermons, and that many a good example may be learned out of them.

Philo. Oh blasphemie intollerable! Are filthie playes and bawdy interluds comparable to the word of God, the foode of life, and life it felfe? It is all one, as if they had faid, bawdrie, hethenrie, paganrie, fcurrilitie, and divelrie it felf is equall with the word of God; or that the devill is equi-potent with the Lord.

The Lord our God hath ordeined his blessed word, and made it the ordenarie mean of our falvation; the devill hath inferred the other, as the ordenarie meane of our defftruction, and will they yet compare the one with the other? If he be accurfed that calleth light darknes, and darknes light, truth falshood, and falshood truth, sweet fowre, and fowre fweete, than, *a fortiori*, is he accurfed that faith that playes and enterluds be equivalent with fermons. Besides this, there is no mischief which thefe plaiers maintain not. For do they not norifh ydlenes? and *otia dant vitia*, ydlenes is the mother of vice. Doo they not draw the people from hering the word of God, from godly lectures and fermons? For you fhall have them flocke thither, thick and threefould, when the Church of God fhall be bare and emptie; and thofe that wil never come at fermons wil flow thither apace. The reason is, for that the number of Chrift his elect is but few,

and the number of the reprobate is many; the way that leadeth to life is narrow, and few tread that path; the way that leadeth to death is broad and many find it. This sheweth they are not of God, who refuse to hear his word (for he that is of God heareth God his word, faith our Saviour Christ) but of the devill, whose exercises they go to visit. Do they not maintain bawdrie, insinuate folly, and renew the remembrance of heathen idolatry? Do they not induce whoredom and uncleanness? nay, are they not rather plaine devourers of maidenly virginity and chastity? For proofe wherof, but marke the flocking and running to theaters and courtiers, daylie and hourly, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to see playes and enterludes; where such wanton gestures, such bawdie speeches, such laughing and fleering, such kissing and buffing, such clipping and culling, such winking and glancing of wanton eyes, and the like is used as is wonderfull to behold. Than, these goodly pageants being done, every mate farts to his mate, every one brings another homeward of their way verie friendly, and in their secret conclaves (covertly) they play the Sodomites, or worse. And these be the fruits of playes and enterludes for the most part. And whereas you say there are good examples to be learned in them, trulie so there are: if you will learne falsehood; if you will learn cosenage; if you will learn to deceive; if you will learn to play the hypocrite, cogge, lye, and falsifie; if you will learn to jest, laugh, and fleece, to grin, to nod, and mow; if you will learn to playe the Vice, to swear, teare, and blaspheme both heaven and earth: if you will learn to become a bawde, uncleane, and to devert mayds, to deflower honest wyves: if you will learne to murder, flay, kill, picke, steal, robbe, and rove: if you will learn to rebel

Wherefore
many flock to
see playes and
enterludes.

The fruits of
theaters and
playes.

The goodly
examples of
playes and
enterludes.

What things
are to be
learned at
playes.

Theaters
fchooles or
feminaries of
pseudo chris-
tianitie.

A dyvine
premunire.

What it is to
communicate
with other
mens finnes.

An exhorta-
tion to plaiers.

The ignomy
due to players.

againſt princes, to commit treafons, to confume treafurs, to praſtiſe ydlenes, to ſing and talke of bawdie love and venery: if you will lerne to deride, ſcoffe, mock, and flowt, to flatter and ſmooth: if you will learn to play the whore-maiſter, the glutton, drunkard, or inceſtuous perſon: if you will learn to become proude, hawtie, and arrogant; and, finally, if you will learne to contemne God and al his lawes, to care neither for heaven nor hel, and to commit al kinde of finne and miſcheef, you need go to no other ſchoole, for all theſe good examples may you ſee painted before your eyes in enterludes and playes: wherefore that man who giveth money to the maintenance of them muſt needs incurre the damage of *premunire*, that is, eternall damnation, except they repent. For the apoſtle biddeth us beware, leaſt wee communicat with other mens finnes; and this their dooing is not only to communicat with other mens finnes, and maintain evil to the deſtruction of them ſelves and many others, but alſo a maintaining of a great forte of idle lubbers, and buzzing dronets, to fuck up and devoure the good honie, wherupon the poor bees ſhould live.

Therefore I beſeech all players and founders of plaies and enterludes, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, as they tender the ſalvation of their ſoules, and others, to leave of that curſed kind of life, and give them ſelves to ſuch honeſt exerciſes and godly miſteries as God hath commaunded them in his woord to get their livings withall: for who wil call him a wiſe man that plaieth the part of a foole and a vice? Who can call him a Chriſtian who playeth the part of a devil, the ſworne enemie of Chriſte? Who can call him a juſt man that playeth the part of a diſſembling hipocrite? And, to be breef, who can call him a ſtraight deling man, who playeth

a cofoners trick? And so of all the rest. Away therefore with this so infamous an art! for goe they never so brave, yet are they counted and taken but for beggers. And is it not true? Live they not uppon begging of every one that comes? Are they not taken by the lawes of the realm for roagues and vacabounds? I speake of such as travaile the cuntries with playes and enterludes, making an occupation of it, and ought to be punished, if they had their deserts. But hoping that they will be warned now at the last, I will say no more of them, beseeching them to consider what a fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of God, and to provoke his wrath and heaveie displeasure against them selves and others; which the Lord of his mercie turn from us!

Players live
uppon begging.

Players count-
ed rogues by
the lawes of
the realm.

Spud. Of what sorte be the other kinde of playes, which you call Lords of Mis-rule? for mee thinke the very name it self caryeth a taste of some notorious evil.

Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna.

Philo.

The name, indeed, is odious both to God and good men, and such as the very heathen people would have blushed at once to have named amongst them. And if the name importeth some evil, then, what may the thing it selfe be, judge you? But because you desire to know the manner of them, I wil shewe you as I have seen them practised my self. First, all the wilde-heds of the parish, conventing together, chuse them a graund-captain (of all mischeefe) whome they innoble with the title of my Lord of Mis-rule, and him they crowne with great solemnitie and adopt for their king. This king anointed chuseth forth twentie, fortie, three-

Lords of
Mis-rule in
Ailgna.

The manner
how Lords of
Mis-rule are
used to be
played.

The monstrous
attyring of
my Lord of
Misrules men.

The rabblement
of the devils
garde.

The behaviour
of the devils
band in the
temple of God.

Receptacles in
the cemeteries
or church
yards for the
devils agents.

score or a hundred lustie guttes, like to him self, to waight
uppon his lordly Majestie, and to garde his noble person.
Then, everie one of these his men he investeth with his
liveries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour;
and as though they were not (baudie) gaudie enough, I should
say, they bedecke them selves with scarfs, ribons and laces
hanged all over with golde rings, precious stones, and other
jewels: this doon, they tye about either leg xx or xl bells,
with rich handkerchiefs in their hands, and sometimes laid
a crosse over their shoulders and necks, borrowed for the
most parte of their pretie Mopsies and looving Besses, for
buffing them in the dark. Thus al things set in order, then
have they their hobby-horses, dragons and other antiques,
together with their baudie pipers and thundering drummers
to strike up the devils daunce withall. Then, marche these
heathen company towards the church and church-yard,
their pipers pipeing, their drummers thundring, their stumps
dauncing, their bells jynghing, their handkercheifs swinging
about their heds like madmen, their hobbie horses and
other monsters skirmishing amongst the route: and in this
forte they go to the church (I say) and into the church,
(though the minister be at praier or preaching), dancing
and swinging their handkercheifs over their heds in the
church, like devils incarnate, with such a confuse noise, that
no man can hear his own voice. Then, the foolish people
they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, and mount
upon fourmes and pewes to see these goodly pageants
solemnized in this fort. Then, after this, about the church
they goe againe and again, and so forth into the church-
yard, where they have commonly their sommer haules,
their bowers, arbors, and banqueting houses set up, wherein

they feaft, banquet and daunce al that day and (peradventure) all the night too. And thus thefe terreftriall furies fpend the Sabaoth day.

They have alfo certain papers, wherin is painted fome babblerie or other of imagery woork, and thefe they call my Lord of Mifrules badges : thefe they give to every one that wil give money for them to maintaine them in their hethenrie, divelrie, whordome, drunkennes, pride, and what not. And who will not be buxom to them, and give them money for thefe their devilifh cognizances, they are mocked and flouted at not a little. And fo affoted are fome, that they not only give them monie to maintain their abhominacion withall, but alfo weare their badges and cognizances in their hats or caps openly. But let them take heede ; for thefe are badges, feales, brands, and cognizances of the devil, whereby he knoweth his fervants and clyents from the children of God ; and fo long as they weare them, *Sub vexillo diaboli militant contra Dominum et legem fuam* : they fight under the banner and fterdard of the devil againft Chrift Jefus, and all his lawes. Another forte of fantafticall fooles bring to thefe hel-hounds (the Lord of Mif-rule and his complices) fome bread, fome good ale, fome new-cheefe, fome olde, fome cuftards, and fine cakes ; fome one thing, fome another ; but if they knew that as often as they bring any thing to the maintenance of thefe execrable paftimes, they offer facrifce to the devil and Sathanas, they would repent and withdraw their hands ; which God graunt they may !

My Lord of
Mifrules
cognizances.

Wearing the
Lord of Mif-
rules badges.

Sacrifice
brought to
this filthie
ydol, my L.
of Mifrule.

Spud. This is a horrible prophanation of the fabaoth (the Lord knoweth), and more peftilent then peftilence it felf. But what ? be there any abuses in their May-games like unto thefe ?

The order of
their May-
games.

A great lord
present in May
games as
superintendent
therof.

The manner
of bringing
home their
May-poles.

May-poles
pattern of the
hethen ydols.

The frute of
May-games.

Philo. As many as in the other. The order of them is thus: Against May, Whitsonday, or other time, all the young men and maides, olde men and wives, run gadding over night to the woods, groves, hils, and mountains, where they spend all the night in plesant pastimes; and in the morning they return, bringing with them birch and branches of trees, to deck their assemblies withall. And no mervaille, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord over their pastimes and sportes, namely, Sathan, prince of hel. But the chiefeſt jewel they bring from thence is their May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They have twentie or fortie yoke of oxen, every oxe having a sweet nose-gay of flowers placed on the tip of his hornes; and these oxen drawe home this May-pole (this stinking ydol, rather) which is covered all over with floures and hearbs, bound round about with strings from the top to the bottome, and sometime painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women and children following it with great devotion. And thus being reared up with handkercheefs and flags hovering on the top, they straw the ground rounde about, binde green boughes about it, set up sommer haules, bowers, and arbors hard by it; and then fall they to daunce about it, like as the heathen people did at the dedication of the idols, wherof this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing it self. I have heard it credibly reported (and that *viva voce*) by men of great gravitie and reputation, that of fortie, three-score, or a hundred maides going to the wood over night, there have scarsely the third part of them returned home againe undefiled. These be the frutes which these cursed pastimes bring foorth. Neither the Jewes, the Turcks,

Sarafins, nor Pagans, nor any other nation, how wicked or barberous so ever, have ever used such devilish exercises as these; nay, they would have been ashamed once to have named them, much lesse have used them. Yet wee, that would be Christians, think them not amisse. The Lord forgive us, and remoove them from us!

Spud. What is the manner of their Church ales, which you say they use; for they seem uncouth and straunge to mine eares?

The Manner of Church-ales in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

The manner of them is thus: In certaine townes where drunken Bachus beares all the sway, against a Christmas, an Easter, Whitsonday, or some other time, the churchwardens (for so they call them) of every parish, with the consent of the whole parish, provide half a score or twenty quarters of mault, wherof some they buy of the church-stock, and some is given them of the parishioners them selves, every one conferring somewhat, according to his abilitie; which mault being made into very strong ale or beere, it is set to sale, either in the church, or some other place assigned for that purpose.

The manner
of church-ales
in Ailg.

Then, when the *Nippitatum*, this huf-cap (as they call it) and this nectar of lyfe, is set abroche, wel is he that can get the soonest to it, and spend the moste at it; for he that fitteth the closest to it, and spends the moste at it, he is counted the godliest man of all the rest; but who either cannot, for pinching povertie, or otherwise, wil not stick to it, he is counted one destitute both of vertue and godlynes. In so

The filthiest
beast, the
godlyest man.

much as you shall have many poor men make hard shift for money to spend therat, for it beeing put into this Corban, they are perswaded it is meritorious and a good service to God. In this kinde of practise they continue fix weeks, a quarter of a yeer, yea, half a yeer together, swilling and gulling, night and day, till they be as drunke as apes, and as blockish as beasts.

Spud. Seeing they have so good utterance, it should seeme they have good gaines. But, I pray you, how doe they bestowe that money which is got therby?

How the
money is spent
which is got by
churchales.

Philo. Oh! well, I warrant you, if all be true which they say: for they repaire their churches and chappels with it; they buy bookes for the service, cuppes for the celebration of the sacrament, suppleesses for Sir Jhon, and such other necessities; and they maintaine other extraordinarie charges in the parishs besydes. These be their exceptions, these be their excuses, and these be their pretended allegations, wherby they blind the world, and conveigh themselves away invisibly in a clowd. But if they daunce thus in a net, no doubt they will be espied.

Will the Lord
have his house
build with
maintenance
of evill?

For if it were so that they bestowed it as they say, do they think that the Lord will have howse build with drunkenesse, gluttony, and such like abomination? Must we do evill that good may come of it? must we build this house of lyme and stone with the defolation and utter overthrow of his spirituall howse, clenfed and washed in the precioufe blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ? But who seeth not that they bestow this money upon nothing lesse than in building and repaying of churches and oratories? For in most places lye they not like swyn coates? their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall downe, the rooffe all bare, and

what not out of order? Who seeth not the booke of God, rent, ragged, and all betorn, covered in dust, so as this epitaphe may be writ with ones finger upon it, *Ecce nunc in pulvere dormio?* Alas! behold I sleepe in dust and oblyvion, not once scarfe looked uppon, much lesse red uppon, and the least of all preached uppon. And, on the other side, who seeth not (for this I speak but in way of parenthesis) in the mean tyme, their owne howses and mansion places are curiously build, and sumptuously adorned: which plainly argueth that they rather bestow this drunken got-money uppon prophane uses and their own privat affaires, than upon the howse of prayer, or the temple of God. And yet this their doing is wel liked of, and no man may say black is their eye: for why? thei do all things well, and according to good order, as they say; and when time commeth, like good accoumptantes, they make their accoumptes as please themselves.

The decay of churches, which are laur at rent and torn.

Sumptuousnes of their owne mansions.

Sp. Were it not better, and more consonant to the truth, that every one contributed somewhat, according to his abilitie, to the maintenance of templaries and oratories, than thus to maintaine them by drunken churchales, as you say thei do?

Philo. It weare much better. And so we read, the fathers of the Old Testament, every one after his abilitie, did impart somewhat to the building and restauration of the tabernacle which Moyfes erected to the Lord; so as in the end there was such aboundance of all things, as the artificers, consulting with Moyfes, were glad to request the people to stay their liberalitie, for they had more than they knew what to do withall. These people made no drunken churchales to build their edefice withal, notwithstanding their im-

Churges are to be maintained by mutuall contribution of every one after his power.

portable charges and intollerable costes. But as their zeal was fervent, and very commendable in bringing to the church, so our zeal is more than frosen and blame worthie in detracting from the church, and bestowing it upon whor-
dom, drunkenesse, gluttony, pride, and such like abhomi-
nations: God amend it!

Our zeal
waxen cold
and frosen
in respect of
the zeal of the
former world.

Spud. How do they solemnise their feastes and wakeffes there; and what order do they observe in them?

The maner of keeping of Wakeffes, and Feasts
in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

This is their order therein: every towne, parishe, and village, some at one tyme of the yeere, some at another (but so that every towne, parish, and village keep his proper day assigned and appropriat to it self, which they call their week day) use to make great preparation and ordenaunce for good cheer. To the which all their freends and kynsfolks, farre and neer, are invited, wher is such gluttony, such drunkenesse, such saturitie and impletion used as the like was never seen: in so much as the poore men, that beare the charges of these feasts and wakeffes are the poorer, and keep the worser howses a long tyme after. And no marveil, for manie spend more at one of these wakeffes than in all the whole yeer besides. This makes many a one to thripple and pinch, to runne into debte and daunger, and finallie brings many a one to utter ruine and decay.

Saturitie in
feasts and
wakeffes.

The great
charges of
wakeffes.

Spud. Wold you not have one freend to visite another at certen tymes of the yeer?

Philo. I disallowe it not, but much commend it. But

why at one determinat day more than at another (except busines urged it); why should one and the same day continue for ever, or be distinct from other dayes by the name of a wake day? why should there be more exceſſe of meats and drinks at that day than at another? why should they abſtaine from bodely labor ij or three dayes after, peradventure the whole week, ſpending it in drunkenneſſe, whordome, gluttony, and other filthie ſodomiticall exercyſes.

Againſt wakes and feaſts.

Spud. Seeing you allowe of one freend to viſite another, would you not have them to congratulat their comming with ſome good cheer?

Philo. Yes, truely; but I allowe not of ſuch exceſſe of ryot and ſuperfluitie as is there uſed. I thinke it convenient for one freend to viſite another (at ſometimes) as oportunitie and occaſion ſhall offer it ſelfe; but wherfore ſhould the whole towne, pariſh, village, and cuntrey keepe one and the ſame day, and make ſuch gluttonous feaſts as they doo? And therefore, to conclude, they are to no end, except it be to draw a great frequencie of whores, drabbes, theives, and verlets together, to maintaine whordome, bawdrie, gluttony, drunkenneſſe, thieſte, murther, ſwearing, and all kind of miſchief and abomination; for theſe be the ends wherto theſe feaſtes and wakeſſes doo tende.

Wherto wakeſſes and feaſts do very aptly tend.

Spud. From whence ſprang theſe feaſts and wakeſſes firſt of all; can you tell?

Philo. I cannot tell, except from the Paganes and heathen people, who, whan they were aſſembled together, and had offred ſacrifices to ther wodden goddes, and blockiſh ydols, made feaſts and banquets together before them, in honour and reverence of them, ſo appointed the ſame yeerly to be obſerved in memoriall of the ſame for ever. But whence

From whence theſe annuall feaſts and ſtacionarie wakeſſes had their beginning.

foever they had their exordium, certen it is the devill was the father of them, to drown us in perdition, and destruction of body and foule: which God forefend!

Sp. As I remember, you spoke of dauncing before, inferring that the sabaoth is greatly prophaned therby: wherof, I pray you, shew mee your judgement.

The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing, used
in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

Dauncing, as it is used (or rather abused) in these daies, is an introduction to whordom, a preparative to wantonnes, a provocative to uncleanes, and an introite to al kind of lewdenes, rather than a pleasant exercyse to the mind, or a holsome practise for the body: yet, notwithstanding, in Ailg. both men, women, and children, are so skilfull in this laudable science, as they may be thought nothing inferiour to Cynædus, the prostitut ribauld, nor yet to Sardanapalus, that effeminat varlet. Yea, they are not ashamed to erect scholes of dauncing, thinking it an ornament to their children to be expert in this noble science of heathen divelrie: and yet this people glory of their Christianitie and integritie of life. Indeed, *verbo tenus Christiani boni vocitentur*, but *vita et moribus Ethnicis et Paganis pejores reperiuntur*: from the mouth outward they may be said to be good Christians, but in life and maners farre worser than the heathen or Paganes. Wherof if they repent not and amend, it shalbe easier for that land of Sodoma and Gomorra, at the day of judgement, then for them.

Spud. I have heard it said, that dauncing is both a recrea-

Scholes of
dauncing
erected.

tion for the minde, and also an exercyse for the body, very holfome; and not only that, but also a meane wherby love is acquired.

P/h. I will not much denie but being used in a meane, in tyme and place conveniente, it is a certen solace to the minds of such as take pleasure in such vanities; but it is no good reason to say, some men take pleasur in a thing, *ergo*, it is good, but the contrarie is true rather: for this is (*basis veritatis*) a ground of truth, that whatsoever a carnall man, with uncircumcised heart, either desireth or taketh pleasure in, is most abhominable and wicked before God. As, on the other side, what the spirituall man regenerat, and borne anew in Christ, by the direction of God his spirit, desireth or taketh delight in, is good, and according to the will of God: and feeling mans nature is too proclive of it selfe to sinne, it hath no need of allurements and allections to sin (as dauncing is) but rather of restraints and inhibitions from the same, which are not there to be found. For what clipping, what culling, what kissing and buffing, what smouching and flabbering one of another, what filthie groping and uncleane handling is not practised in those dauncings? yea, the very deed and action it selfe, which I will not name for offending chaste eares, shall be purtrayed and shewed forth in their bawdye gestures of one to another. All which, whither they blow up Venus cole or not, who is so blind that seeth not? wherefore, let them not think that it is any recreation (which word is abusively used to expresse the joyes or delightes of the mind, which signifieth a making againe of that which before was made,) to the mind of a good Christian, but but rather a corrosive most sharp and nipping. For seeing that it is evill in it self, it is not a thing wherein a Christian

Dauncing a pleasure to them that delight in vanities.

What allurements to vice lay in dauncing.

Dauncing no recreation, but a corrosive to a good Christian.

The onely
thing wherin
a good Chris-
tian doth
delight.

Dancing no
holosome exer-
cise for the
body.

What loove
dancing pro-
cureth.

mans heart may take any comfort. The onely *summum bonum*, wherin a true Christians heart is recreated and comforted, is the meditation of the passion of Jesus Christ, the effusion of his blood, the remission of sins, and the contemplation of the ineffable joyes and beatituds after this life, prepared for the faithfull in the blood of Jesus Christ. This is the only thing wherin a Christian man ought to rejoyse and take delight in, all other pleasures and delights of this lyfe set a parte as amarulent and bitter, bringing foorth fruit to eternall destruction, but the other to eternall lyfe. And wheras they conclude it is a holsom exercise for the bodie, the contrary is most true; for I have knowen divers by the immoderate use therof have in short time become decrepit and lame, so remaining to their dying day. Some have broke their legs with skipping, leaping, turning, and vawting, and some have come by one hurt, some by another, but never any came from thence without some parte of his minde broken and lame, such a wholsome exercise it is. But, say they, it induceth love: so say I also; but what love? Truly, a lustful love, a venereous love, a concupiscencious, baudie, and bestiall loove, such as proceedeth from the stinking pump and lothsome sink of carnall affection and fleshly appetite, and not such as distilleth from the bowels of the hart ingenerat by the spirit of God.

Wherefore I exhort them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to eschue not only from evil, but also from all apperance of evil, as the Apostle willeth them, proceeding from one vertue to another; until they growe to perfect men in Christe Jesus, knowing that we must give accounts at the day of judgment of every minut and jote of time, from the day of our birth to the time of our death: for there is nothing

more precious then time, which is given us to glorifie God in good-woorks, and not to spend in luxurious exercises after our owne fantasies and delights.

We must render accounts for time heer lent us.

Spud. But I have heard them affirme that dauncing is provable by the woord of God; for (say they) did not the women come foorth of all the cities of Israel to meet king Saule? and David, returning from the slaughter of Goliath, with pfalteries, flutes, tabrets, cymbals, and other muscally instruments, dauncing and leaping before them? Did not the Israelites, having passed over the Red Sea, bring foorth their instruments, and danced for joy of their deliverance?

1 Sa. 18.
Exo. 15.

Exo. 32.

Againe, did they not daunce before the golden calf, which they had made in Horeb or Sinai? Did not king David daunce before the Ark of the Lord? Did not the daughter of Jephtah daunce with tabret and harp at the return of her father from the feeld? Did not the women of the Israelites dance comming to visit the good Judith? Did not the damsel dance before king Herod? Did not Christ blame the people for their not dancing when he said, Wee have pyped unto you, but you have not daunced?

2 Sa. 6.

Judic. 11.
Judic. 15.

Mat. 14;
Luc. 7.

Saith not Salomon, there is a time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourne, and a time to daunce?

Eccle. 3.

And dooth not the Prophet David, in many places of his Psalmes, commend and commaund dauncing, and playing upon instruments of musick?

Wherefore (for thus they conclude) seeing these holy Fathers (wherof some were guided by the instinct of God his spirit) have not only taught it in doctrine, but also exprest it by their examples of life, who may open his mouth once to speake against it?

No man without errors both in lyfe and doctrine.

1 Sa. 18.

The first pillare of dauncing overthrowen.

No good consequent to say others did so, ergo it is good, or we may doo the like.

Philo. The Fathers, as they were men, had their errors, and erred as men, for *Hominis est errare, decipi et labi*: it is naturall for man to erre, to be deceived and to slide from the trueth. Therefore the Apostle saith, Follow mee in all things as I follow Christ; but to the intent that they, who perpend the examples of the Fathers and Scripture falsly wrested to maintaine their devilish dauncings withall, may see their owne impietie and grosse ignorance discovered, I wil compendiously set down the true sence and meaning of every place, as they have cyted them perticulerly. For the first, wheras they say that the women came foorth in daunces with timbrels and instruments of joy to meet David and Saule, I aske them for what cause they did so? Was it for wantonnes, or for very joye of hart for their victorie gotten over the Philistines, their sworne enemies? Was it in prayse of God, or to stirre up filthie lust in them selves, or for nicenes onely, as our daunces bee? Did men and women daunce together, as is now used to be doon? or rather was it not doon amongst women only? for so saith the text, The women came foorth, &c. But admit it were neither so, nor so, will they conclude a generall rule of a particuler example? It is no good reason to say, such and such did so, therefore it is good, or we may doo so; but all things are to be poyfed in the balance of holy Scripture, and therby to be allowed or disallowed, according to the meaning of the Holy Ghost, who is only to be heard and obeyed in his woord.

The Israelitish women, hearing the fame of David, and how he had killed their deadly enemy Goliath, came foorth to meet him playing upon instruments, dancing and singing songs of joye and thanks-giving to the Lord, who

had given them the victorie, and delivered them from the deadly hostilitie of him who fought their destruction every way. Now, what maketh this for our leud, wanton, vice and ubiquitarie dauncings, for so I may call them because they may be used every where, let the godly judge. Who feeth not rather that this example (let Cerberus the dog of hel alatrare what he list to the contrary) clean overthroweth them. Theirs was a goodly kind of dancing in praise of God, ours a lustful, baudie kinde of demenour in praise of our selves: theirs to shew their inward joy of minde for the blessings of God bestowed upon them; ours to shew our activitie, agilitie and curious nicitie, and to procure lustful loove and such like wickednes infinit. But to their second allegation: the children (say they) of Israel danced being delivered out of the servitude of Pharo, and having passed over the Red Sea. I graunt they did so, and good cause they had so to doo; for were they not emancipate and set free from three great calamities and extreame miseries? First, from the servile bondage of Egypt; from the sword of Pharo, who pursued the rereward of their hoste; and from the danger of the Red Sea, their enemies beeing over whelmed in the same.

For these great and inestimable benefits and blessings, received at the hands of God, they played upon instruments of musick, leaped, daunced and sung godly songs unto the Lord, shewing by these outward gestures the inward joy of their harts and mindes. Now, what conduceth this for the allowance of our luxurious dauncings? Is it not directly against them? They danced for joy in thanks to God, wee for vaine glorie: they for loove to God, wee for loove of our selves: they to shew the interior joy of the minde for God

The difference between the dances of our forefathers and ours.

Their second pillar shaken.

How the Israelits danced.

The dauncing
of our forfa-
thers mai not
be called a
dauncing, but
rather a godly
triumphing
and rejoycing
in heart for
joy.

his blessing heaped upon them; we to shew our concinitie, dexteritie and vaine curiositie in the same; they to stir up and to make them selves the apter to praise God; we to stir up carnall appetites and fleshlie motions: they to shew their humilitie before God; and we to shew our pride both before God and the world. But how so ever it be, sure I am, their dauncing was not like oures, consisting in measures, capers, quavers, and I cannot tel what, for thei had no such leasure in Egipt to learne such vaine curiosity in that lustfull bawdie schoole, for making of brick and tyles. And notwithstanding it is ambiguous whether this may be called a dauncing or not, at lest not like oures, but rather a certen kind of modest leaping, skipping or mooving of the body to expresse the joye of the mind in prayse of God; as the man did, who, being healed by the power of our Saviour Christe, walked in the Temple, leapping, skipping and praising God.

Their 3 reason
examined.

We never read that they ever daunced but at some wonderfull portent or straunge judgment of God; and therefore made not a common practise of it, or a daylie occupation, as it were, much lesse set up schools of it, and frequenting nothing els night and day, Sabaoth day and other, as we do. But to their third reason: The Israelits daunced before the calf in Horeb. And what than? They made a golden calf and adored it: may we therefore do the like? They committed ydolatrie there; therefore is ydolatrie good because they committed it?

Adam disobeyed God, and obeyed the devil: is obedience therefore to the devil good, because hee did so?

Therefore wee must not take heede what man hath doon heertofore, but what God hath commaunded in his woord to

be doon, and that followe even to the death. But, to be short, as it is a frivolous thing to say, because they committed idolatrie therfore may wee doo the like, so it is no lesse ridiculous to say, because they daunced, therfore wee may doo the same; for as it was not lawfull to commit idolatrie because they did so, so it is not lawfull to daunce because they daunced.

So that if this place inferre any thing for dauncing, it inferreth that wee must never daunce but before a golden calf, as they did: but, I think, by this time they are ashamed of their dances. Therfore of this place I need to say no more, giving them to note that this their dauncing, in respect to the end therof, was farre dissonant from ours; for they daunced in honour of their idol, wee clean contrary, though neither the one nor the other be at any hand toller-able.

Their fourth reason: Did not David daunce before the Ark? say they. Very true; and this place (as the rest before) refelleth their custumarie dauncings of men and women together moste excellentlie; for David danced him selfe alone, without either woman or musicall instrument to effeminate the minde. And this dauncing of David was no usuall thing, nor frequented every day, but that one time, and that in prayse of God for the deliverie of the Ark of God his testament out of the hands of the infidels and hethen people: the joy of this holy prophet was so vehement for this great blessing of God (such a fervent zeale he bore to the trueth), that it burst foorth into exterior action, the more to induce others to prayse God also. Would God we would dance, as David daunced, heer for the deliverie of his saving word out of the hands of the Italian Philistin

Their 4 reason.

Why David
daunced be-
fore the ark.

and archenemy of all trueth, the Pope of Roome! for in this respect I would make one to daunce, to leap, to skip, to triumph, and rejoyce as David did before the Ark. By this, I trust, any indifferent man seeth, that by this place they gain as much for the maintenance of their leude dancing, and baudie chorufses, as they did by citing the former places; that is, just nothing at all, which they may put in their eies and see never the wurffe.

Their fift re-
son examined.

Their fift reason: Did not Jeptath his daughter meet her father, when he came from war, dancing before him, and playing uppon instruments of joy? Jeptath, going foorth to warre against the Amonites, promised the Lord (making a rashe vowe) that if it would please his majestie to give him victorie over his enemies, he wold sacrifice the first lyving thing that shuld meet him from his house. It pleased God that his sole daughter and heire, hearing of her fathers prosperous return (as the maner of the cuntrey was), ran foorth to meete her father, playing uppon instruments in prayse of God, and dauncing before him for joye. Now, what prooveth this for their daunces? Truely, it overthroweth them, if it be well considered: first we read that she did this but once, we daylie: she in prayse of God, we in prayses of our selves: she for joy of her fathers good successe, we to stir up filthie and uncleane motions: she with a virginall gravitie, we with a babish levitie: she in comly maner, we in bawdie gesture. And, moreover, this sheweth that women are to daunce by themselves (if they wil needs daunce), and men by themselves; for so importeth the text, making no mention of any other of her colleagues or companions dancing with her.

Wherefore and
how the
daughter of
Jepthath
daunced.

Ther 6 reason.

Their vi reason: Did not the Israclitish women daunce

before Judith, comming to visit her? I graunt they did so: the storie is thus:

Holofernes, opposing himselfe against the Ifraelits, the the chosen people of God, and intending to overthrowe them and to blot out their remembrance for ever from under heaven, assembled a huge power, and besieged them on every side. Judith, ca. 15.

The Ifraelits, seeing themselves circumvalled, and in great daunger on each side, suborned good Judith, a vertuous, godlye woman (for without some stratagem or pollicie wrought, it was unpossible for them in the eyes of the world to have escaped) to repaire to Holofernes, and, by some meanes or other, to work his destruction: who, guided by the hand of God, attempted the thing and brought it happely to passe. For she cut of his head with his owne fauchine, wrapping his bodie in the canopie wherin he lay, sleepingly posselt as he was with the spirit of drunkenesse: this done, the women of Ifraell came together, and went to visit this worthie woman, and to congratulat her prosperous succeffe with instruments of musick, singing of godly songs, and dauncing for joye in honour and prayse to God for this great victorie obtained. Now, who seeth not that these women sang, daunced, and played uppon instrumentes in prayse of God, and not for any other lewdnes or wantonnes, as commonly the world doth now adaies? This also overthroweth the dauncinges of men and women together in one companie; for though there was an infinite number of people by, yet the text faith, there daunced none but onely women, which plainly argueth the unlawfulnessse of it in respect of man. And this being but a particular fact, of a sort of imprudent women, shall we draw it into an example of lyfe, and thinke it lawfull or good because they did practise it? Judith cutteth of the head of Holofernes.

The unlawfulnessse of dauncing of men and women together.

A custome to
daunce in
prayse of God.

It was a custome in those dayes, when God had powred foorth any notable blessing upon his people, from his heavenly pallace, the people, in honour, praise, and thanksgiving to God for them, would play upon their instruments, sing godly songs, daunce, leape, skip, and triumphe, shewing foorth the joye of their mindes, with their thankfulnessse to God by all exteriour gestures that they could devyse: which kinde of thankfull dauncing, or spirituall rejoycing, wold God we did follow, leaving all other wanton dancing to their father the devill!

Their 7 reason.

Dauncing
styrreth up
lust.

Their vij reason: Did not (quothe they) the damosell daunce before kinge Herode, when the head of John Baptift was cut of? She daunced, in deed; and herein they maye see the fruite of dauncing, what goodnesse it bringeth: for was not this the cause of the beheading of John the Baptift? See whether dauncing styreth not up lust, and inflameth the mind; for if Herode with seeing her daunce was so inflamed in her love, and ravished in her behaviour, that he promised her to give her whatsoever she wold desire, though it were half of his emperie or kingdome, what wold he have beene if he had daunced with her? And what are they that daunce with them hand in hand, cheek by cheek, with buffing and kissing, flabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold? in so much as I have heard many impudently say that they have chosē their wyves, and wyves their husbands, by dauncing; which plainly proveth the wickednesse of it.

Their 8 reason.

Luc. 7.

Their viij reason: Did not Christ rebuke the people for not dauncing, saying, We have pyped unto you, but you have not daunced? They may as well conclude that Christ in this place was a pyper, or a minstrell, as that he allowed

of dauncing, or reproved them for not exercysing the same. This is a metaphoricall or allegoricall kinde of speach, wherin our Saviour Christ goeth about to reprove and checke the styfneckednes, the rebellion and pertinacious contumacy of the Scribes and Pharisees, who were neither mooved to receive the glad tydings of the gospell by the austeritie of John the Baptiste, who came preaching unto them the doctrine of repentaunce in mourning fort; neither yet at the preaching of our Saviour him selfe, breaking into them the pure ambrosia, the cælestial manna, the word of life, in joyfull and gladfome maner.

The more
than obdurat
hardnes of the
Jewes.

Jhon the Baptist he piped unto them, that is, he preached unto them austeritie of life, to mourn for their finnes, to repent, to fast, pray, and such like. Our Saviour Christ he pyped (that is) preached unto them the glad and comfortable tidyns of the gospell, yet at neither of these kinde of concions they were any whit moved, either to imbrace Christ or his gospell: wherfore he sharply rebuketh them by a similitude of foolish children, sitting in the market place and piping unto them that wold not daunce. This is the true undoubted fence of this place, which whether it overthrow not all kinde of lewd dauncing (at least maketh nothing for them) allowing a certen kind of spirituall dauncing, and rejoyfing of the heart unto God (that I may suspend my owne judgement) let wyse determine.

Their ix reason: Saith not Salomon, there is a time to weep, and a time to laugh, a time to mourn, and a time to daunce? This place is directly against their usuall kinde of dauncing; for saith not the text, there is a time, meaning sometime, now and than, as the Israelites did in prayse of God, when anie notable thing happened unto them, and

Eccle. 3.
Their 9 reason.

Salomon
meaneth a
certen kind of
a spirituall
dauncing or
rejoyfing of
the heart.

not every daye and howre, as we do, making an occupation of it, never leaving it, until it cleane leave us. But what and if Salomon speaketh here of a certen kind of spiritual dauncing and rejoyfing of the heart in praise of God? This is easly gathered by the circumstances of the place, but specially by the sentence precedent; (vz. there is a time to mourn and a time to dance, &c.) that is, a time to mourn for our sinnes, and a tyme to daunce or rejoyse for the unspeakable treasures purchascd unto us by the death and passion of Jesus Christ. How much this place maketh for the defence of their nocturnall, diuturnall, wanton, lewde, and lascivious dauncing (if it be censured in the imparciall ballance of true judgement) all the world may see and judge.

Their ultimum
refugium.

And now, to draw to an end, I will come unto their *ultimum refugium*: that is, Doth not David both commend, and also commaund dauncing and playing uppon instruments in diverse of his Psal.? In all those places the prophet speaketh of a certen kind of spirituall dauncing and rejoyfing of the heart to the Lord, for his graces and benefits in mercie bestowed upon us. This is the true kinde of dauncing, which the word of God doth allow of in any place, and not that we should trippe like rammes, skip like goats, and leap like mad men: For to that end our feet were not given us, but rather to represent the image of God in us, to keep companie with the angels, and to glorifie our heavenly Father thorow good works.

Why our feet
were given us.

Spud. Do you condemne al kinde of dauncing as wicked and prophane?

Ph. All lewde, wanton and lascivious dauncing in publique assemblies and conventicles, without respect either of sex, kind, time, place, person, or any thing els, I, by the

warrant of the word of God, do utterly condemne : but that kind of dauncing which is used to praise and laud the name of God withall (as weare the daunces of the people of the former world) either privatly or publiquely is at no hand to be dyfallowed, but rather to be greatly commended. Or if it be used for mans comfort, recreation and godly pleasure privatly (every sex distincted by themselves), whether with musick or otherwyse, it cannot but be a very tollerable exercise, being used moderatly and in the feare of God. And thus, though I condemne all filthie, luxurious and uncleane dauncing, yet I condemne not al kind of dauncing generally ; for certen it is, the exercise it self, in its own nature, qualitie and proprietie, though to some it is lawfull, to other some unlawfull in dyverse respects, is both ancient and general, having been used ever in all ages, as wel of the godly, as of the wicked, almost from the beginning. Wherefore, when I condemne the same in some, my meaning is in respecte of the manifold abuses therof. And in my judgement, as it is used now a dayes, an occupation being made of it, and a continuall exercise, without any difference or respect had either to time, person, sex or place, in publique assemblies and frequencies of people, with such beastlie flabberings, buffings and smouchings, and other filthie gestures and misdeameanors therein accustomed, it is as impossible to be used without doing of infinit hurt, as it is for a naked man to lye in the midst of a hote burning fire, and not to consume. But these abuses, with other like (as there be legions moe of them) being cut of from the exercise it selfe, the thing remayneth very commendable in some respects. Or els, if our daunces tended, as I have said, to the setting forth of God his glorie (as the daunces

What dauncing is condemned by the word of God.

used in preter time did) to draw others to pietie and fanc-
titie of life, and to prayse and rejoyce in God, to recreate the
minde oppressed with some great toyle or labor, taken in
true virtue and godlynes, I would not (being don in the
feare of God, men by them selves, and wemen by them
selves, for els it is not possible to be without sinne) much
gainstand it. But I see the contrarie is every where used,
to the great dishonor of God and corruption of good maners,
which God amend.

Spud. And wherfore would you have men to daunce by
them selves, and women by them selves?

Why men
shold daunce
by themselves
and women by
themselves.

Philo. Because it is, without all doubt, a provocation to lust
and venery, and the fire of lust once conceived (by some
irruption or other) bursteth forth into open action of
whoredome and fornication. And therefore a certain godly
Father said wel, *Omnis saltus in chorea, est saltus in pro-
fundum inferni*, every leap, or skip in dance, is a leap to-
ward hel. Yet, notwithstanding, in Ailgna it is counted a
vertue and an ornament to a man, yea, and the onely way
to attaine to promotion and advancement, as experience
teacheth.

Spud. Notwithstanding, for my further instruction, I pray
you shewe mee what fathers and counsels have judged of
it, and what they have writ and decreed against it.

Testimonies of
Fathers, coun-
cels and
writers against
dauncing.

Philo. If I should goe forth to shew all the invectives of
fathers, all the decrees of counsels, and all the places of
holy scripture against the same, I should never make an
end: wherfore of many I wil select a few, hoping that they
wil suffice any reasonable man. Syrach saith, Frequent not
the company of a woman that is a finger or dauncer, neither
heare her, lest thou be intrapped in her craftines. Chri-

foftome, dylating upon Matthew, faith, In every dance the devil daunceth by, for companie, though not vifible to the eye, yet palpable to the minde. Theophilus, writing upon Mark, the fixt chapter, faith, *Mira collufio faltat per puellam diabolus*: this is wunderfull deceit, for the devil danceth amongft them for company. Auguftine, writing upon the 32 Pfalme, faith, it is better to digge all the fabaoth day then to dance. Erasmus, in his booke *De contemptu Mundi*, faith, Whofe minde is fo well difpofed, fo ftable, or fo wel fetled, which thefe wanton dances, with fwinging of armes, kicking of legs, playing upon instruments, and fuch like, would not overcome and corrupt? Wherfore, faith he, as thou defireft thine owne credit and welfare, efchew thefe fcabbed and fcurvy companie of dauncers.

Ludovicus Vives faith, Amongft all pleasures, dauncing and voluptuousnes is the kingdome of Venus, and the empire of Cupid: wherfore, faith hee, it were better for thee to ftay at home, and to break either a leg or an arme of thy body, then to break the legges and armes of thy minde and foule, as thou doeft in filthie fcurvy dauncings. And, as in all feasts and pafimes, dauncing is the laft, fo it is the extream of all other vice. And again, There were (faith he) from far cuntries, certain men brought into our parts of the world, who, when they faw men daunce, ran away merveloufly afraid, crying out, and thinking them to have been mad. And no mervaille, for who, feeing them leap, fkip, and trip like goates and hindes, if hee never faw them before, would not think them either mad, or els poffeft with fome furie? Bullinger, paraphrafting upon Mathew 14, faith, After feafting, fwilling, and gulling, commeth dancing, the root of all filthynes and uncleannes.

Eccl. 13.

Mat. 4.

Auguftine.

Erasmus.

Lodovicus
Vives.Dauncers
thought to be
mad-men.

Bullinger.

Calvin.

Maister Calvin, writing upon Job, Ser. 8, cap. 12, calleth dauncing the cheefe mischeef of all mischeefs, faying, there be such unchaft gestures in it as are nothing els but inticements to whordome.

Marlorate, upon Mathew, faith, Whosoever hath any care either of honestie, fobriety, or gravitie, have long since bad adieu to all filthie dauncing.

No man (faith a certaine heathen writer) if hee be sober, daunceth, except hee be mad.

Salust.

Salustius, commending Sempronia, that renowmed whore, for many godly gifts, condemneth her for her over great skill in dauncing; concluding, that dauncing is the instrument of lecherie.

Cicero.

Cicero faith, a good man would not daunce in open assemblies, though hee might by it get infinite treasure.

The Council of Laodecea decreed that it should not be lawful for any Christian to dance at mariages, or at any follemne feast.

In an other council it was enacted, that no man should daunce at any marriage, nor yet at any other time.

The emperour Justinian decreed, that for no respect in feasts or assemblies there should be any dauncing, for feare of corrupting the beholders, and inticing men to sinne.

All writers,
bothe holy and
prophane,
against
dauncing.

Dauncing a
world of sin.

Thus you may see, bothe scripture, counsels, and fathers, holy and prophane, heathen and other, even all in generall, have detested and abhorred this filthie dauncing, as the quavemire or plash all of abomination, and therefore it is no exercise for any Christians to followe; for it stirreth up the motions of the flesh, it induceth lust, it inferreth baudrie, affoordeth ribaldrie, maintaineth wantonnes, and ministreth oile to the stinking lamp of deceitfull pride; and, *in summa*, nourisheth a world of wickednes and sinne.

Spud. Now that the wickednes of it is so manifestly shewed, that no man can denie it, I pray you, who invented this noble science, or from whence sprang it?

Philo. Heereof there be fundry and divers opinions; for some holde an opinion (and very likely) that it sprang from the heathen idolatrous pagans and infidels, who, having offered up their sacrifices, victimats, and holocaustes, to their false gods, in reverence of them, and for joy of their so being, used to daunce, leape, and skip before them.

Who invented
dauncing, and
from whom it
sprang.

And this may be prooved by the Israelits themselves, who, having seen and learned the same practise in Egypt, feared not to imitate the like in the wilderness of Horeb. Some, again, suppose that Pyrrhus, one of the Sibils priests, devised it in Creet. Others holde that the priests of Mars, who in Roome were had in great estimation for their dexterity in dauncing, invented it. Others think that one Hiero, a truculent and bloody tirant in Sicilia, who, to set up his tyrannie the more, inhibited the people to speake one to an other, for feare of insurrections and commotions in his kingdome, was the occasion of the inventing therof: for when the Sicilians sawe that they might not, under pain of death, one speake to another, they invented dauncing to expresse the inward meaning and intentions of the minde by outward becks and exterior gestures of the body; which use afterward grew into custome, and now into nature. But what soever men say of it, or from whence soever it sprang, S. Chrysostom saith plainly (to whom I willingly subscribe), that it sprang from the teates of the devils brest, from whence all mischeef els dooth flow. Therefore, to conclude, if of the egges of a cockatrice may be made good food meat for man to eat, and if the web of a spider can be made good cloth

A supposall
who invented
dauncing.

Unpossible
that dancing
should be
good.

for mans body, then may it be prooved that dancing is good, and an exercife fitte for a Chriftian man to followe, but not before. Wherefore God of his mercy take it away from us!

Spud. What fay you to mufick? is it not a laudable fcience?

Of Mufick in Ailgna, and how it allureth
to vanitie.

Philo.

A comparifon
betwixt honie
and dancing.

Wits dulled
by mufick.

Authors of the
bringing in of
mufick.

I fay of mufick as Plato, Ariftotle, Galen, and many others have faid of it; that it is very il for yung heds, for a certaine kinde of nice, fmootherweetnes in alluring the auditorie to nicenes, effeminacie, pufflanimitie, and lothfomnes of life, fo as it may not improperly be compared to a fweet electuarie of honie, or rather to honie itfelf; for as honie and fuch like fweet things, received into the ftomack, dooth delight at firft, but afterward they make the ftomack fo quafie, nice and weake that it is not able to admit meat of hard digefture: fo fweet mufick at the firft delighteth the eares, but afterward corrupteth and depraveth the minde, making it weake and quafie, and inclined to all licenciofnes of lyfe whatfoever. And right as good edges are not fharpned (but obtufed) by beeing whetted upon fofter ftones, fo good wits, by hearing of foft mufick, are rather dulled then fharpned, and made apt to all wantonnes and finne. And therefore writers affirme Sappho to have been expert in mufick, and therefore whorifh.

Tyrus Maximus faith, the bringing in of mufick was a cup of poyfon to all the world.

Clytomachus, if hee ever heard any talking of loove, or playing upon musickall instruments, would run his way and bidde them farwel.

Plutarchus complaineth of musick, and faith, that it dooth rather femenine the minde as pricks unto vice, then conduce to godlines as spurres unto vertue.

Pythagoras condemnes them for fooles, and bequeathes them a cloke-bag, that measure musick by sound and eare. Thus you heare the judgement of the wise concerning musick: now judge therof as you list your self.

Spud. I have heard it said (and I thought it very true) that musick dooth delight bothe man and beast, reviveth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it apter to the service of God.

Philo. I graunt musick is a good gift of God, and that it delighteth bothe man and beast, reviveth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it redyer to serve God; and therefore did David bothe use musick him self, and also commend the use of it to his posteritie (and beeing used to that end, for mans privat recreation, musick is very laudable).

Musick the
good gift of
God.

But beeing used in publique assemblies and private conventicles, as directories to filthie dauncing, thorow the sweet harmonie and smoothe melodie therof, it estraungeth the mind, stirreth up filthie lust, womanisheth the minde, ravisheth the hart, enflameth concupifence, and bringeth in uncleannes. But if musick openly were used (as I have said) to the praise and glory of God, as our fathers used it, and as was intended by it at the first, or privatly in a mans secreet chamber or house, for his owne folace or comfort to drive away the fantasies of idle thoughts, folicitude, care, forrowe, and such other perturbations and molestations of

Of musick in
publike assem-
blies and
conventicles.

How musicke
were tollerable
and good.

the minde, the only ends wherto true musick tends, it were very commendable and tollerable. If musick were thus used it would comfort man wonderfully, and moove his hart to ferve God the better; but beeing used as it is, it corrupteth good minds, maketh them womanish, and inclined to all kinde of whordome and mischeef.

Spud. What say you, then, to musitions and minstrels, who live only upon the same art?

The scarfity of
good musitions
and min-
strelles.

The marchan-
dise of min-
strelles and
musitions.

The wickednes
of musitions
and minstrels.

Philo. I thinke that all good minstrelles, sober and chaste musitions (speking of suche drunken sockets and bawdye parasits as range the cuntries, ryming and singing of uncleane, corrupt, and filthie songs in tavernes, ale-houfes, innes, and other publique assemblies,) may daunce the wild Moris thorow a needles eye. For how should thei bere chaste minds, seeing that their exercyse is the pathway to all uncleanes. Their is no ship so balanced with massie matter, as their heads are fraught with all kind of bawdie songs, filthie ballads and scurvie rymes, serving for every purpose, and for every companie.

Who be more bawdie than they? who uncleaner than they? who more licentious and loose minded? who more incontinent than they? and, briefly, who more inclyned to all kind of infolencie and lewdnes than they? Wherefore, if you wold have your sonne softe, womanish, uncleane, smoth mouthed, affected to bawdrie, scurrilitie, filthie rimes, and unsemely talking; brifly, if you wold have him, as it weare, transnured into a woman, or worse, and inclyned to all kind of whordome and abhominacion, fet him to dauncing school, and to learn musicke, and than you shall not faile of your purpose. And if you would have your daughter whoorish, bawdie, and uncleane, and a filthie

speaker, and such like, bring her up in musick and dauncing, and, my life for youres, you have won the goale.

How to have
children
lerned in all
wickednes.

And yet, notwithstanding, it weare better (in respecte of acceptation) to be a pyper, or bawdye minstrell than a devyne, for the one is looved for his ribauldrie, the other hated for his gravitie, wisdome, and sobrietie.

The scarcytie
of divynes.

Every towne, citie, and countrey, is full of these minstrelles to pype up a daunce to the devill; but of dyvines so few there be, as they maye hardly be seene.

But some of them will reply, and say, What, Sir! we have lycenses from justices of peace to pype and use our minstrelsie to our best commoditie. Curfed be those licences which lycense any man to get his lyving with the destruction of many thousands.

But have you a lycence from the arch-justice of peace, Christe Jesus? If you have so, you may be glad; if you have not (for the worde of God is against your ungodly exercyses, and condemneth them to hell,) than may you as rogues, extravagantes, and straglers from the heavenly countrey be arrested of the high justice of peace, Christ Jesus, and be punished with eternall death, notwithstanding your presented licences of earthly men. Who shall stand betwixt you and the justice of God at the daye of judgement? Who shall excuse you for drawing so manye thousandes to hell? Shall the justices of peace? shall their licences? Oh, no; for neither ought they to graunt anye licences to anie to doo hurt withall; neither (if they would) ought any to take them.

Licences
graunted to
musitions and
minstrels to
exercyse their
mistry or
facultie of
mischief.

No lycenses do
hurte withall
to be graunted.

Give over, therefore, your occupations, you pypers, you fiddlers, you minstrelles, and you musitions, you drummers, you tabretters, you fluters, and all other that wicked broode;

A caveat to
mufitions,
minstrelles,
and all others
of that ftampe.

for the bloode of all thofe whome you drawe to deftruction, thorow your provocations and intyfyng allurements, fhallbe powred uppon your heads at the day of iudgement. But hereof enough, and, perchaunce, more than will like their humour.

Philo. Is it not lawfull uppon the fabaoth daye to playe at dice, cardes, tables, bowles, tenniffe, and fuch other plea-faunt exercyfes, wherein man taketh pleasure and delight?

Cards, Dice, Tables, Tenniffe, Bowles, and other
exercyfes ufed unlawfully in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

Exercifes un-
lawfull upon
the fabaoth
day.

Furta officiofa.

All wicked
games ufed in
Chriftmas
time.

Thefe be no fabaothlike exercyfes for any chriſtian man to follow anye day at all, much leſſe uppon the fabaoth daye, which the Lord wold have to be consecrat to himſelfe, and to be ſpent in holy and godly exercyfes, according to his will. As for cards, dice, tables, bowles, tenniffe, and fuch like, thei are *furta officioſa*, a certen kind of ſmooth deceitfull, and ſleightie theſte, wherby many a one is ſpoiled of all that ever he hath, ſometimes of his life withall, yea, of body and ſoul for ever. And yet (more is the pitie) theſe be the onely exercyfes ufed in every mans howſe, al the yeer thorow; but ſpecially in Chriſtmas tyme, there is nothing els ufed but cards, dice, tables, masking, mumming, bowling, and fuch like fooleries. And the reaſon is this: they think they have a commiſſion and prerogative that time to do what they luſt, and to folow what vanitie they will. But (alas!) do they thinke that they are priviledged at that tyme to doo evill? the holier the time is (if one time were holier than another, as it is not) the holier ought their

workes to be. Can anie time dispenſe with them, or give them libertie to ſin? No, no: the foule which ſinneth ſhall dye, at what time ſo ever it offendeth. But what will thei ſay? Is it not Chriſtmas? muſt we not be mery? Truth it is, we ought, both than and at all times, to be merie in the Lord, but not otherwyſe; not to ſwill and gull more that time than any other time, not to lavifh foorth more at that time that at other times.

No tyme
priviledged a
man to finne.

But the true celebration of the feaſt of Chriſtmas is to meditat (and as it were to ruminat) uppon the incarnation and byrthe of Jeſus Chriſt, not onely at that time, but all tymes and daies of our life, and to ſhewe our ſelves thankful to his Majeſtie for the ſame. Notwithſtanding, who is ignorant that more miſchiefe is that time committed than in all the yeere beſides? what maſking and mumming! wherby robberie, whordome, murther, and what no[t] is committed! what dicing and carding, what eating and drinking, what banqueting and feaſting is then uſed more than in all the yeere beſydes! to the great diſhonor of God, and impoveriſhing of the realme.

The true
keeping of
Chriſtmas.

Spud. Is it not lawfull for one Chriſtian to play with another at anye kinde of game, or to winne his monie, if he can?

Wickednes in
Chriſtmas.

Philo. To play at tables, cards, dice, bowls, or the like (though a good Chriſtian man will not ſo ydely and vainely ſpend his golden dayes) one Chriſtian with another, for their privat recreations, after ſome oppreſſion of ſtudie, to drive away fantaſies and ſuch like, I doubt not, but that they may, uſing it moderatly, with intermiſſion and in the feare of God; but to play for lucre of gaine, and for deſire onely of his brothers ſubſtaunce (rather than for any other cauſe) it is at no hand lawfull, or to be ſuffered.

Unlawful for
one Chriſtian
to play with
another to
win his
money.

For as it is not lawfull to robbe, steale and purloine by deceit or flaight, so is it not lawfull to get thy brothers goods from him by carding, dicing, tabling, bowling, or any other kynd of thefte, for these playes are no better; nay, worser than open theft; for open theft every man can be ware of, but this being a craftie pollitick theft, and commonly don under pretence of freendship, few or none at all can beware of it. The commaundement faith, thou shalt not covet nor desire any thing that belongeth to thy neighbour: now, it is manifest that those that playe for monie, not onelye covet their brothers monie, but also use craft, fallhood and deceit to wyne the same.

The Apostle forbiddeth us to use deceit in bargaining, in buying or selling; much lesse than ought we to use deceit in gaming.

Our Saviour Christ biddeth every man do to an other as he would another should do unto him. Which rule, if it weare duly observed, were sufficient to withdraw men both from all kynd of gameing, but also from all kynd of indirect and unjust dealing. For as thou woldest not that another man should wine thy money, so thou oughtest not to desire the winning of his, for thou must do as thou wouldst be done by.

A rule to
restraine
unlawfull
gameing.

Spud. If gameing for money be so unlawfull, wherfore are there howses and places appointed for maintenance of the same?

Philo. That excuseth not the fault, but aggravateth it rather. And truely great pitie it is, that these brothel howses (for so I call all gaming howses) are suffred as they be: for are they not the very seminaries and nurseries of all kynd of abomination, whatsoever heart can thinke, or tongue expresse?

Gaming
howses with
their wicked-
nes.

And therefore I marveile, that those who keep and maintaine these gaming howses can ever have light hearts, or once looke up towards heaven, that not onely suffer this manifest theft in their howses (for gaming is no better) but also maintaine and nourish the same.

The apostle saith, Not onely they that doo evill *digni sunt morte*, are worthie of death, but also *qui consentiunt facientibus*, those who consent to them that doo it.

Call to mind, than, what evils come of this wicked exerceyse, I beseeche you.

For doth not swearing, tearing, and blaspheminge of the name of God; doth not stinking whordome, thefte, robberie, deceit, fraude, cosenage, fighting, quareling, and sometymes murder; doth not pride, rapine, drunkn[e]s, beggerye, and, in fine, shamefull end followe it, as the shadowe doth follow the body? wherefore I will not doubte to call these gaming howses, the slaughter howses, the shambles, or block-houses of the devill, wherein he butchereth Christen mens foules infinit waies, God knoweth: the Lord suppress them!

Spud. Weare there ever anie lawes made against the inordinat abuse hereof? or have the godly in any age misliked it?

Philo. In all ages and times both the godly sober Christians have detested it, and holosome lawes have been promulgat against it.

Lawes and
sanctions
divulgat
against
gaming.

Octavius Augustus was greatly reproched of the writers of his time for his great delight in gaming, notwithstanding his manifold vertues besides.

Cicero objected to Marcus Antonius his often gaming, as a note of infamie unto him.

The noble Lacedemonians sent their ambassadours to

The infamy
purchased by
gaming.

Corinth to conclud a peace, who coming thither, and finding the people playing at dice and cards and unthrifitie games, returned back again (*infesta pace*) their peace unconcluded, faying it should never be reported that they wold joyne in league with dice-players and gamesters.

The same Lacedemonians sent to Demetrius, in derision of his dice playing, a paire of dice of gold. Sir Thomas Eliot (that worthie knight) in his booke of Governace asketh, who will not think him a light man of small credit, diffolut, remife, and vaine, that is a dice-player or gamester?

Laws againſt
gaming.

Publius faith, *Quanto peritior eſt aleator in ſua arte, tanto nequior eſt, et vita, et moribus*: how much conninger a man is in gaming and diceplaying, ſo much corrupter is he both in life and maners. Juſtinian made a lawe that none ſhould play at dice, nor cards, for no cauſe, neither privately nor openly.

Alexander Severus baniſhed all gameſters out of his dominions; and if anie were found playing, their goods were conſiſcat, and they counted as mad men ever after, never truſted nor eſteemed of anie.

Ludovicus ordeined that all gameſters ſhold depart his land, for feare of corrupting others.

K. Richard the Second forbad all kynd of gaming, and namely dice-playing.

Puniſhment
for gaming.

K. Henrie the Fourth ordeined that every dice-player ſhould be imprifoned ſix daies for every ſeverall time he offended in gaming.

K. Edward the Fourth ordeined, who ſo kept gaming howſes ſhould ſuffer imprifonment three yeeres, and forfeit xx. li. and the players to be imprifoned two yeers and forfeit x. pound.

K. Henri the Seventh ordeined that every dice-player should be imprisoned all a day, and the keeper of the dicing howse to forfeit for every offence vi. shil. viij d., and to be bound by recognizance to good behaviour.

The penalty
for those that
keep gaming
howses.

K. Henrie the Eight ordeined that every one that kept dicing houses should forfeit xl shil., and the players to forfeit vi shil. viij d., with many good lawes and fancements set foorth against this raging abuse of gaming; which, to avoid tediousnes I omit, beseeching the Lord to root up and supplant these, and all other stumbling blocks in his church what so ever.

Sp. As I remember, in the catalogue of abuses before, you said, the sabaoth day was prophaned by bearbaiting, cock-fighting, hauking, hunting, keeping of faires, courts, and markets, upon the said day. Is it not lawful, than, to follow these exercises upon the sabaoth day neither?

Beare baiting and other exercyses, used
unlawfully in Ailgna.

Philoponus.

These hethnicall exercyses upon the sabaoth day, which the Lord hath consecrat to holy uses, for the glory of his name, and our spirituall comfort, are not in any respect tollerable, or to be suffered. For is not the baiting of a bear, besides that it is a filthie, stinking, and lothsome game, a dangerous and perilous exercise? wherein a man is in daunger of his life every minut of an houre; which thing, though it weare not so, yet what exercise is this meet for any Christian? What Christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beast to rent, teare, and kill another, and all

No creature
to be abused.

for his foolish pleasure? And although they be bloody beasts to mankind, and seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, and whose creatures they are. For, notwithstanding that they be evill to us, and thirst after our blood, yet are they good creatures in their own nature and kind, and made to set forth the glorie and magnificence of the great God, and for our use; and therefore for his sake not to be abused. It is a [com]mon saying amongst all men, borrowed from the French, *Qui aime Jean, aime son chien*; love me, love my dog: so, love God, love his creatures.

God is abused
when his
creatures are
misused.

If any should abuse but the dog of another mans, wold not he who oweth the dog think the abuse therof resulteth to himselfe? And shall we abuse the creatures of God, yea, take pleasure in abusing them, and yet think the contumely don to them redoundeth not to him who made them? But admit it weare graunted that it weare lawfull to abuse the good creatures of God, yet it is not lawfull for us to spend our golden yeers in such ydle and vaine exercyses, daylie and hourelie as we do.

Keeping of
mastives and
bandogs.

And some, who take themselves for no small fooles, are so farre affotted that they will not stick to keep a dosen or a score of great mastives and bandogs, to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forsooth); and wil not make anie bones of xx. xl. c. pound at once to hazard on a bait, with feight dog, feight beare (say they), the devill part all! And, to be plaine, I thinke the devill is the maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastyme, forsoth, worthie of commendation, and wel fitting these gentlemen of such reputation. But how much the Lord is offended for the prophanation of his sabaoth by such un-

favorie exercyses, his heavenly majistie of late hath reveiled, pouring foorth his heavie wrath, his fearfull judgements, and dreadfull vengeance uppon the beholders of these vanities.

A fearfull Example of God his Judgement upon
the Prophaners of his Sabaoth.

Upon the 13 day of Januarie last, being the sabaoth day, Anno 1583, the people, men, women, and children, both yonge and old, an infinit number flocking to these infamous places, where these wicked exercyses are usuallie practised, (for they have their courts, gardens, and yards for the same purpose) when they were all come together and mounted aloft upon their scaffolds and galleries, and in middest of al their jolytie and pastime, all the whole building (not one stick standing) fell down with a most wonderfull and fearefull confusion; so that either two or three hundred men, wemen, and children (by estimation), wherof seven were killed dead, some were wounded, some lamed, and othersome brused and crushed almost to the death. Some had their braines dasht out, some their heads all to squasht, some their legges broken, some their arms, some their backs, some their shoulders, some one hurt, some another. So that you should have hard a woful crie, even pearcing the skyes, parents bewayling their children, children their loving parents, wyves their husbands, and husbands their wyves, marvellous to behould! This wofull spectacle and heavie judgement, pitifull to heare of, but most ruefull to behold, did the Lord send down from heaven, to shew unto the whole world how greevously he is offended with those that spend his sabaoth

in fuch wicked exercifes; in the meane tyme, leaving his temple defolat and emptie. God graunt all men may take warning hereby, to fhun the fame for feare of like or worfer judgement to come!

A fearfull Judgement of God, fhewed at
the Theaters.

A wofull
fpectacle.

The like judgement (almost) did the Lord fhew unto them a little befor, being affembled at their Theaters, to fee their bawdie enterluds and other trumperies practifed: for he caufed the earth mightely to shak and quaver, as though all would have fallen down; wherat the people, fore amazed, fome leapt down (from the top of the turrets, pinacles, and towres, wher they flood) to the ground; wherof fome had their legs broke, fome their arms, fome their backs, fome hurt one where, fome another, and many fore crushed and brused; but not any but they went away store affraid, and wounded in confcience. And yet can neither the one nor the other fray them from thefe diuelifh exercyfes untill the Lord confume them all in his wrath; which God forbid! The Lord of his mercie open the eyes of the majeftrats to pluck down thefe places of abufe, that God may be honored and their confciences disburthened.

Cock feight-
ing upon the
fabaoth.

Befids thefe exercifes, thei flock, thick and three fold, to the cockfeights, an exercyfe nothing inferiour to the reft, wher nothing is ufed but fwering, forfwering, deceit, fraude, collufion, cofenage, foulding, railing, convitious talking, feighting, brawling, quarrelling, drinking, whooring; and, which is worft of all, robbing of one an other of their goods, and that not by direct, but indirect means and attempts:

and yet to blaunch and fet out these mischiefs withall (as though they were vertues) thei have their appointed daies and fet hours, when these devilries must be exercised. They have houses erected to the purpose, flags and ensignes hanged out, to give notice of it to others, and proclamation goes out to proclaim the same, to th' end that many may come to the dedication of this solemne feast of mischief: the Lord supplant them! And as for hawking and hunting upon the sabaoth day, it is an exercyse upon that day no lesse unlawfull than the other; for no man ought to spend any day of his life, much lesse every day in his life, as many do, in such vaine and ydle pastimes: wherfore let gentlemen take heed; for, be sure, accounts must be given at the day of judgement for every minut of time, both how they have spent it, and in what exercyses. And let them be sure no more libertie is given them to mispend an howre, or one jote of the Lord his goods, than is given to the poorest and meanest person that liveth upon the face of the earth. I never read of any, in the volume of the sacred scripture, that was a good man and a hunter.

Appointed
times for
exercise of
dyvelries.

Hawking and
hunting uppon
the sabaoth.

No more
libertie given
to one man
than another
for mispend-
ing of their
goods.

Esau was a great hunter, but a reprobate; Ismaell a great hunter, but a miscreant; Nemrode, a great hunter, but yet a reprobate and a vessell of wrath. Thus I speake not to condemne hawking and hunting altogether, being used for recreation, now and then, but against the continuall use therof daylie, hourly, weekly, yeerly, yea, all the time of their life without intermission. And such a felicitie have some in it, as they make it all their joye, bestowing more upon hawkes and hounds, and a sort of idle lubbers to followe them, in one yeer, than they will impart to the poore members of Christ Jesus in vii yeers, peradventure, in

No good
hunters in
scripture.

Cost bestowed
in hawks and
dogges.

When all
beasts weare
obedient to
man, and
wherefore they
rebell.

all the dayes of their life. So long as man in Paradise perfisted in innocency, all beasts what so ever weare obedient to him, and came and prostrated themselves before him; but ever since his fall they have fled from him, and disobeyd him, because of his sin; that seeing he disobeyed the Lord, they again disobeyed him. For so long as man obeyed God, so long they obeyed him, but so soone as man disobeyed God, they disobeyed him, and became enemies to him; as it were, seeking to revenge the injurie which man had don unto God in disobeying his lawes. Wherefore the cause why all beasts do fly from us, and are become enemies to us, is our disobedience to the Lord, which we are rather to sorrow for, than to hunt after their deaths by the sheading of their blood.

For pleasure
fake only no
man ought to
abuse any of
the creatures of
God.

Hurt by
hunting to
poor men.

If necessitie, or want of other meats inforceth us to seek after their lives, it is lawfull to use them, in the feare of God, with thanks to his name; but for our pastimes and vain pleasures sake, wee are not in any wise to spoyle or hurt them. Is he a Christian man, or rather a pseudo-Christian, that delighteth in blood? Is he a Christian that spendeth all his life in wanton pleasures and pleasure delights? Is hee a Christian that buieth up the corne of the poor, turning it into bread (as many doo) to feed dogs for his pleasure? Is hee a Christian that liveth to the hurt of his neighbour, in treading and breaking down his hedges, in casting open his gates, in trampling of his corne, or otherwise in prejudicing him, as hunters doo? Wherefore God geve them grace to see to it, and to mend it betimes ere it be to late; for they know *mora trahit periculum*, delay bringeth danger. Let us not deferre to leave the evil and to doo good, least the wrath of the Lord be kindled against us, and consume us from the upper face of the earth.

Spud. What say you to keeping of markets, fayres, and courtes, and leetes upon the fabaoth day? Think you it is not lawfull to use the same upon any day?

Not lawfull to keep courts leet, markets and fayres, on the fabaoth day.

Philo. No truly; for can you serve God and the devil together? Can wee carrie to God and ferrie to the devil? Can we serve two maisters, and neither offend the one nor the other? Can wee serve God and mammon? Can we please God and the world bothe at one time? The Lord will not be served by peecemeale; for either he will have the whole man, or else none: for faith he, "Thou shalt loove the Lord thy God with all thy soule, withall thy minde, withall thy power, withall thy strength," and so forth, or els with none at all. Then, seeing that we are to give over our selves wholly and totally to the service of God al the daies of our life, but especially uppon the fabaoth day, being consecrate to that end, we may not intermedle with these prophane exercises upon that day. For it is more then manifest that these fayres, markets, courtes, and leetes, upon the fabaoth day, are not only a hinderance unto us in the true service of God, and an abuse of the fabaoth, but also lead us the path way to hel. For what cosenage is not there practised? what falshod, deceit, and fraude is not there exercised? what diffimulation in bargaining? what setting forth of fucate and decevable wares is not there frequented? what lying, swering, forswering, drunkennes, whordom, theft, and sometimes murther, either there or by the way thither, is not every where used? In courtes and leets what envie, malice, and hatred is noorished? what expostulation, railing, scoulding, perjuring, and reperjuring is maintained? what oppression of the poore, what favouring the rich, what injustice and indirect dealing? what bribing, deceiving,

Abuse of the fabaoth by fayres, markets.

The evill in fayres and markets.

The evils in courtes and leets practised.

what polling and pilling is there practised? It would make a Christian hart to bleed in beholding it. And yet, notwithstanding, we must have goodly pageants played upon the fabaoth day (in a wanion), because there are no mo daies in the week. And heerby the fabaoth is contaminat, Gods woord contemned, his commandements disanulled, his sacraments conculcate, his ordinances neglected, and, *in summa*, his blood trod under feet, and all mischeef maintained. The Lord cut of these, with all other sin, both from their foules and thy fabaoth, that thy name may be glorified and the Church truely edified!

Spud. Is the playing at football, reding of mery bookes, and such like delectations, a violation or prophanation of the fabaoth day?

Playing at
foot-ball.

Foot-ball a
freendly kind
of fight.

Hurt by foot-
ball playing.

Ph. Any exercife which withdraweth from godlines, either upon the fabaoth or any other day els, is wicked and to be forbidden. Now, who is so grosly blinde, that seeth not that these aforefaid exercifes not only withdraw us from godlines and vertue, but also haile and allure us to wickednes and sin. For as concerning football playing, I protest unto you it may rather be called a freendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; a bloody and murthering practife, then a felowly sporte or pastime. For dooth not every one lye in waight for his adversarie, seeking to overthrowe him and to picke him on his nose, though it be uppon hard stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place soever it be, hee careth not, so he have him down. And he that can ferve the most of this fashon, he is counted the only felow, and who but he? So that by this meanes sometimes their necks are broken, sometimes their backs, sometime their legs, sometime their armes; sometime one part

thrust out of joynt, sometime an other; sometime the noses gush out with blood, sometime their eyes start out; and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoever scapeth away the best goeth not scotfree, but is either sore wounded, craised, and brused, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly. And no mervaile, for they have the fleights to meet one betwixt two, to dashe him against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him under the short ribbes with their griped fists, and with their knees to catch him upon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a hundered such murdering devices: and hereof groweth envie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

Foot-ball
playing a murdering play.

Is this murdering play, now, an exercife for the sabaoth day? is this a Christian dealing for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that upon prepenfed malice, or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to us? God make us more careful over the bodyes of our brethren!

And as for the reading of wicked bookes, they are utterly unlawfull, not onely to bee read, but once to be named; and that not (onely) upon the sabaoth day, but also uppon any other day; as which tend to the dishonour of God, depravation of good manners, and corruption of christian foules. For as corrupt meates doo annoy the stomack, and infect the body, so the reading of wicked and ungodly bookes (which are to the minde as meat is to the body) infect the foule, and corrupt the minde, hailing it to distruction, if the great mercy of God be not present.

Reading of
wicked
bookes.

The evil
comming by
reding evil
bookes.

And yet, notwithstanding, whosoever wil set pen to paper now a dayes, how unhoneft soever, or unseemly of christian eares his argument be, is permitted to goe forward, and his work plaufibly admitted and freendly licensed, and gladly imprinted without any prohibition or contradiction at all: wherby it is growen to this issue, that bookes and pamphlets of scurrilitie and baudrie are better esteemed, and more vendible then the godlyest and sagest bookes that be: for if it be a godly treatise, reproving vice and teaching vertue, away with it! for no man (almost) though they make a flourish of vertue and godlynes, will buy it, nor (which is lesse) so much as once touch it. This maketh the Bible, the blessed Book of God, to be so little esteemed; that woorthie Booke of Martyrs, made by that famous father and excellent instrument in God his church, maister John Fox, so little to be accepted, and all other good books little or nothing to be revered; whilst other toyes, fantasies, and bableries, wherof the world is ful, are suffered to be printed. These prophane schedules, sacralegious libels, and hethnical pamphlets of toyes and bableries (the authors wherof may vindicate to them selves no smal commendations at the hands of the diuel for inventing the same) corrupt mens mindes, pervert good wits, allure to baudrie, induce to whordome, suppress vertue and erect vice: which thing how should it be otherwise? for are they not invented and excogitat by Belzebub, written by Lucifer, licensed by Pluto, printed by Cerberus, and set abroche to sale by the infernal furies themselves, to the poysoning of the whole world? But let the inventors, the licensors, the printers, and the sellers of these vaine toyes, and more then hethnicall impieties, take heed; for the blood of all those which perish, or take hurt

thorow these wicked bookes, shalbe powred upon their heads at the day of judgement, and be requited at their hands.

Spud. I pray you how might all these enormities and abuses be reformed? For it is to small purpose to shew the abuses, except you shewe withall how they might be reformed.

Philo. By putting in practice and executing those good lawes, wholsome fanctions, and godly statutes, which have beene heretofore, and daily are, fet foorth and establisht, as God be thanked, they are manie. The want of due execution wherof is the cause of all these mischiefs, which both rage and raigne amongst us.

Spud. What is the cause why these lawes are not executed, as they ought to be?

Philo. Truly, I cannot tell, excepte it be thorow the negligence and contempt of the inferiour magistrates. Or els, perhaps (which thing happeneth now and than), for money they are bought out, disfranchised and dispensed withall; for, as the saying is, *quid non pecunia potest*: what is it but money will bring to passe? And yet, notwithstanding, shall it be don invisibly in a clowde (under *benedicite* I speak it) the prince being borne in hand that the same are dalie executed. This fault is the corruption of those that are put in trust to see them executed, as I have tould you, and (notwithstanding) do not.

Spud. This is a great corruption and abuse, doubtles, and worthie of great punishment.

Ph. It is so truly; for if they be good lawes, tending to the glorie of God, the publique weale of the cuntry and correction of vices, it is great pytie that money should buy them out. For what is that els, but to sell vertue for lucre,

godlynes for drosse, yea, mens soules for corruptible money? Therefore, those that sell them are not onely traitors to God, to their prince and countrey, but are also the devils marchants, and ferrie the bodies and soules of Christians, as it were, in Charons boate to the Stigian flood of Hell, burning with fire and brimstone for ever.

And those that buy them are traitors to God, their prince, and countrey also.

For if the lawes were at the first good (as, God be praised, al the lawes in Ailgna be), why should they be suppressed for money? and if they were evill, why were they divulged, but had rather beene buried in the wombe of their mother before th[e]y had ever seene the light.

And why were lawes instituted, but to be executed? Els, it were as good to have no lawes at all (the people lyving orderly) as to have good lawes, and them not executed.

The prince ordeining a law may lawfully repeale and adnull the same againe, upon speciall causes and considerations, but no inferiour magistrat or subjecte what so ever may stop the course of any lawe made by the prince without daunger of damnation to his owne soule, as the Word of God beareth witnesse.

And therefore, woe be to those men that will not execut the sentence of the lawe (being so godly and christian as they be in Ailgna) upon malefactors and offenders!

Verely they are as guiltie of their blood before God, as ever was Judas of the death of Christe Jesus.

Spud. Seeing it is so that al flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of God, and that there is such abomination amongst them, I am perswaded the daye of judgement is not farre of; for when iniquity shall have filled up his

measure, than shall the end of all appeare, as Christ witnesseth in his Evangelie.

Philo. The day of the Lord cannot be farre of, that is most certain; for what wonderfull portents, strang miracles, fearful signes, and dreadfull judgements hath he sente of late daies, as preachers and fortellers of his wrath, due unto us for our impenitence and wickednes of life. Hath he not caused the earth to tremble and quake? the same earth to remooove from place to place? the seas and waters to roare, swell, and brust out, and overflow their bankes to the destruction of many thousands? hath he not caused the elements and skyes to send forth flashing fire? to raine downe wheat, a wonderfull thing as ever was heard, and the like? hath he not caused wonderfull eclypses in the sunne and moon, with most dreadfull conjunctions of starres and planets, as the like this thousand yeeres hath not been heard of? have not the clowdes distilled downe aboundance of rayne and showres, with all kinde of unseasonable wether, to the destroying (almost) of al thinges uppon the earth? have we not seene commets, blasing starres, frie drakes, men fighting in the ayre, most fearfully to behold? hath not dame Nature her selfe denied unto us her operation in sending forth abortives, untimely births, ugglefome monsters and fearfull mishapen creatures, both in man and beast? So that it seemeth all the creatures of God are angrie with us, and threaten us with destruction, and yet we are nothing at all amended (alas) that shal become of us! Remember we not there is a God that shal judge us righteously? that there is a Devill who shal torment us after this lyfe unspeakably, if we repent not? At that day the wicked shall find that there is a material hell, a place of all kinds

of tortures, wherein they shal be punished in fire and brimstone amongst the terrible company of ugglefome Devills, world without end, how light so ever they make account of it in this world.

For some such there be that, when they heare mention of hell, or of the paines therof in the other world, they make a mocke at it, thinking they be but metaphoricall speeches, onely spoken to terrifie us withall, not otherwyfe. But certen it is, as there is a God that will reward his children, so there is a Devill that will remunerat his servaunts; and as there is a Heaven, a materiall place of perfect joye prepared for the godly, so there is a Hell, a materiall place of punishment for the wicked and reprobate, prepared for the Devil and his angels, or els the word of God is in no wyfe to be credited; which blasphemie once to think God keep all his children from!

Spud. But they will easily avoid this; for they say it is writ, at what time so ever a sinner doth repent him of his sinne, I wil put all his sin out of my remembrance, saith the Lord. So that, if they maye have three words at the last, they will with no more. What think you of these felowes?

Philo. I think them no men, but devills; no Christians, but worse than Tartarians, and more to be avoided than the poison of a serpent; for the one slayeth but the body, but the other both body and soul for ever. Wherefore let every good christen man take heed of them, and avoid them; for it is truly said *cum bonis bonus eris, et cum perversis perverteris*: with the good thou shalt learne good, but with the wicked thou shalt be perverted.

Spud. Do you think, than, that that cannot be a true repentance, which is deferred to the last gaspe?

Ph. No, truly ; for true repentance must spring out of a lyvelie faith, with an inward lothing, hating, and detesting of sinne. But this deferred repentance springeth not of faith, but rather of the feare of death, which he seeth imminent before his eyes, of the grief and tediousnes of paine, of the horror of hell, and feare of God his inevitable judgement, which he knoweth now he must needs abyde. And therefore this can be no true repentance ; for there is two maner of repentances, the one a true repentance to life, the other a false repentance to death. As we maye see by Judas, who is said to have repented, and, which is more, to have confessed his faulte, and, which is most of all, to have made restitution, and yet was it a false repentance. And why ? because it sprang not out of true faith, but as before.

Peter repented and weept bitterly, and was saved therby, though he neither made confession nor satisfaction ; and why ? Because it sprang of a true and lyvely faith. So these felowes may say they repent, but except it be a true repentance, springing of faith, it can serve them no more to life, than the pretended repentance of Judas did serve him to salvation.

Let them beware, for Cain repented, yet is he condemned. Esau did repent, yet is he condemned ; Antiochus did repent, yet is he condemned ; Judas did repent, yet is he condemned, with infinite moe. And why so ? Because their prolonged repentance sprang not of faith, &c.

Thus they may see, that everie light affection is no true repentance, and that it is not ynough to say at the last, I repent, I repent ; for unles it be a true repentance indeed, it is worth nothing. But, indeed, if it weare so that man had

liberum arbitrium, free wil of himself to repent truely when he wold, and that God promised in his word to accept of that repentance, it weare another matter. But repentance is *donum Dei*, the gifte of God, *de sursum veniens a patre luminum*, conming from above from the Father of light, and therefore it is not in our powers to repent when we will. It is the Lord that giveth the gift, when, where, and to whom it pleaseth him ; and of him are we to crave it incessantly by faithfull prayer, and not otherwise to presume of our repentance, when, indeed, we have nothing lesse than a true repentance.

Spud. Than, thus much I gather by your words, that as a true repentance (which is a certen inward grief and sorrow of the heart, conceived for our finnes, with a hatred and lothing of the same) [f]erveth to salvation thorow the mercie of God in Christ, so, fained repentance saveth not from perdition. And, therefore, we must repent dayly and howrely, and not deferre our repentaunce to the last gaspe, as many doo, than which nothing is more perilous.

Philo. True, it is ; for may not he be called a great foole, that by deferring and prolonging of repentance to the last cast (as they say) will hazard his body and soule to eternall damnation for ever ? Wheras, by daily repentaunce, he maye assure him selfe both of the favour of God, and life everlasting (by faith) in the mercy of God, thorow the most precious blood of his deare Sonne, Jesus Christ, our alone Saviour and Redemer, to whome be praise for ever !

All things are
vaine and
vanitie it selfe.

Spud. Now must I needs say, as the wyse king Salomon said, all things are vaine and transitorie, and nothing is permanent under the sonne : the workes of men are unperfect

and lead to destruction, their exercyses are vaine and wicked altogether.

Wherefore I, setting apart all the vanities of this lyfe, will from hencefoorth consecrate my selfe to the service of my God, and to follow him in his woord, which onely is permanent and leadeth unto life.

And I most hartelie thanke the Lord God for your good company this day, and for your grave instructions; promising, by the assistance of God his grace, to followe and obey them to my possible power all the daies of my life.

Philo. God give you grace so to do, and every Christen man els, and to avoid all the vanities and deceivable pleasures of this life; for certainly they tread the path to eternal destruction, both of body and soule for ever, to as many as obey them.

The joyes of
this life tread
the path to
death.

For it is unpossible to wallowe in the delights and pleasures of this world, and to lyve in joy for ever in the kingdom of heaven. And thus we, having spent the daye, and also consummate our journey, we must now depart, beseeching God that we may both meete againe in the kingdome of Heaven, there to raigne and lyve with him for ever, through

Jesus Christe our Lorde; to whome, with the

Father and the holy Spirit, be

all honour and glorie

for ever more.

Amen.

FINIS.

FAULTS ESCAPED IN PRINTING.

Letter	Page	Line	Fault	Correction
In B	vij	6	the in Lord	in the Lord
In B	xj	5	what is ther	whatthingisthere
In D	xj	3	<i>initimur</i>	<i>nitimur</i>
In D	xiiij	9	<i>tantæ meriades</i>	<i>tantæque meryades</i>
In D	xv	16	supplied	applied
In F	i	19	read thus :	

Spud. I pray you shew me the opinions of the
Fathers, concerning this coloring of faces.

In F	ix	3	Antiquities	Antiques
In F	xvj	5	pefterning	peftering
In I	iiij	26	refug meat	refuse meate
In I	iiij	27	patrings	parings
In I	viiij	16	<i>appetitum</i>	<i>appetitui</i>

PERIMEDES THE BLACKE-SMITH.

A golden methode, how to vse
*the minde in pleasant and pro-
fitable exercife :*

*Wherein is contained speciall principles fit for the highest
to imitate, and the meanest to put in practife,
how best to spend the wearie winters nights, or
the longest summers euenings, in honest
and delightfull recreation :*

Wherein we may learne to auoide idlenesse and wanton
*scurrilitie, which diuers appoint as the end
of their pastimes.*

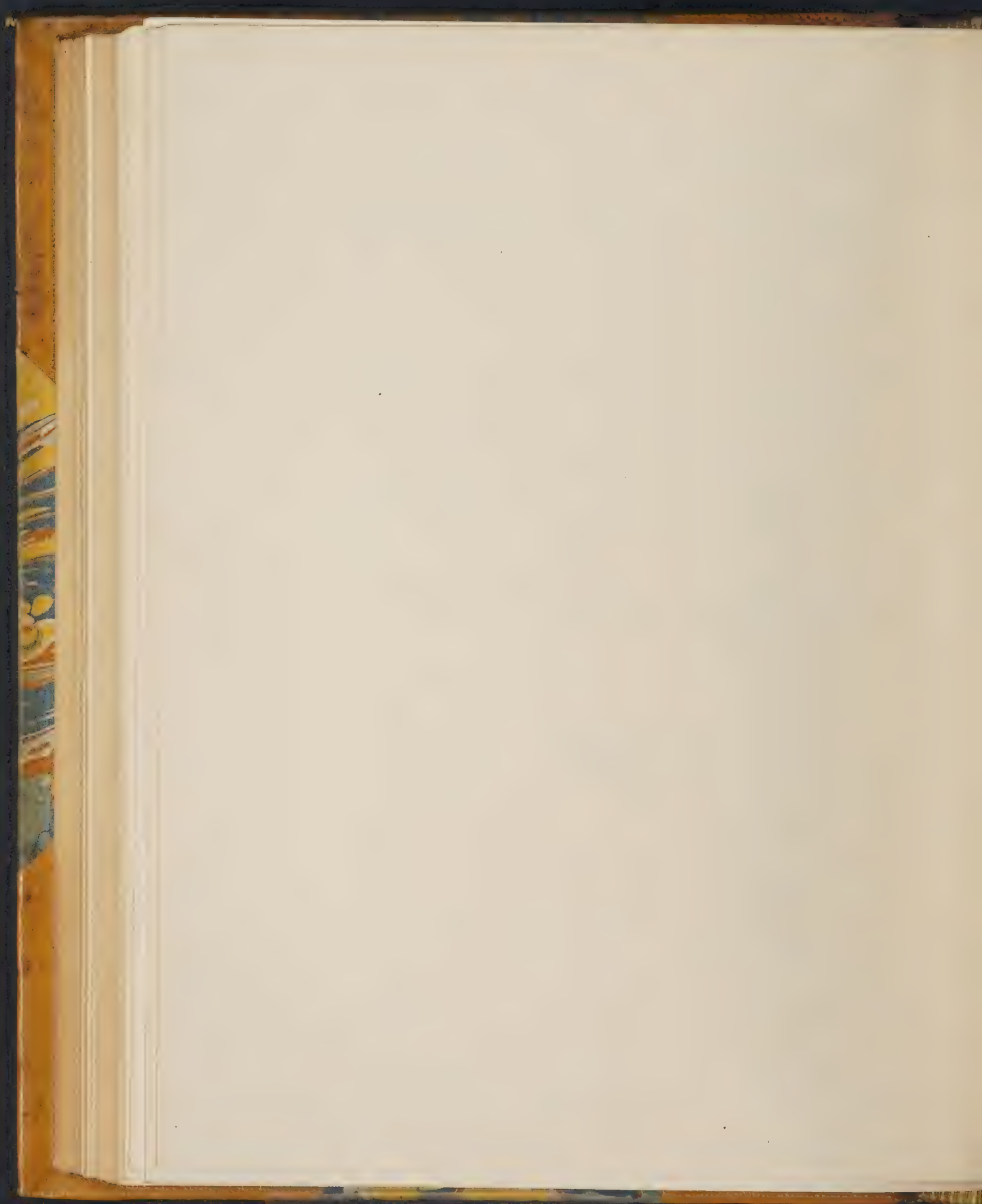
*Heerein are interlaced three merrie and necessarie discourses
fit for our time : with certaine pleasant Histories
and tragicall tales, which may breed delight
to all, and offence to none.*

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.



LONDON.

Printed by Iohn Wolfe, for
Edward White. 1588.



INTRODUCTION.

WHAT follows is one of Robert Greene's later productions, because four years afterwards he died in great poverty and misery. If search were made in the registries of Norwich, it is probable that the date of his birth might be ascertained, as in that city he first saw the light, and he was fond of stating that he was a Norfolk man. His birth can hardly be fixed earlier than 1560 (making him some four years older than Shakespeare), as he took his degree of A.B. at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1578, became M.A. at Clare Hall in 1583, and was admitted *ad eundem* at Oxford in 1588—the date when the pamphlet before us was published. It seems probable that he always subsisted mainly by his pen; and we do not for a moment believe the assertion that he was at one time in orders, that he held the living of Walkington, and still less that he was one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains in 1576, only one year after he had been entered at St. John's College. ("Greene's Works," I, iv.) A coincidence of two such common names proves nothing.

When, then, did he begin to write? "Mamillia", dated 1583, has hitherto been considered his oldest production; but as early as the 20th March 1581, two years before he took his Master's degree, we found an entry at Stationers' Hall where the name of Greene is interlined, and which attributes to him "a ballad," entitled thus minutely—"Youth seeing all his ways so troublesome, abandoning Virtue and leaning to Vice, recalleth his former follies with an inward Repentance." If this memorandum

refer to our author's "Groats-worth of Wit, bought with a million of Repentance", or to his "Farewell to Folly", it shows that they were in existence considerably before their appearance in print in 1591 and 1592. We do not believe that it applies to either of them, but to a separate and kindred poetical work, which has not come down to us. See "Bibliogr. Catalogue", 1865, vol. ii, p. 316. The "ballad" must have been written while Greene was still at Cambridge; and it may have had, even then, a personal application.

Although in various of his works, particularly in his "Never too Late" (which is full of curious information, well deserving reproduction in its first shape) Greene laments over the "faults and follies of his youth," he never seems to have reformed; and his death, in September 1592, was owing to a debauch of which he and some of his friends partook, and from the effects of which he never recovered.

His "Perimedes" was evidently a hasty production, written in a rather careless and, in some respects, easy style: it has more simplicity (in accordance with the two main characters) than was usual with Greene, but at the same time it is full of most inappropriate classical and other references, with an abundance of conceited and fanciful allusions, proceeding from what a contemporary humorously called Greene's "mint for the coinage of beasts, birds, and fishes," with such properties as were convenient for the illustration of his subject.

Although Greene calls the poems at the end "bad sonnets," they are among the most natural and graceful pieces of the kind.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

To the Right worship. *Geruis Clifton* Esquire,
Robert Greene wilheth increafe of worship
and Vertue.

NO sooner, *Right worshipfull*, was Alexander come to
ripe yeares, but his father Philip presented him a
booke and a horse; the one, to signifie his delight in letters;
the other, his desire to martiall indeuours: Pallas had hir
speare, and hir pen, counted as well the patronesse of schol-
lers, as of souldiers; and Alexander, forenamed, no sooner
laide off his helmet, but hee tooke in hand Homers Iliades:
scarfe come from handling his weapon with his maister
Parmenio, but he fell to parlee of studie with his Tutor
Aristotle; counting the profit that hee reaped by philosophie,
little lesse then the gaines he got by his great conquest. These
premises considered, hearing how your worship, in the prime
of your youth, not onely delighted in martiall actiuity, but
fauored the study of good letters, as a *Mæcenas* and patron
of such vertuous labours, I resolued, if I could not hang at
the shryne of *Apollo* beautifull instruments, yet to deck his
aulters with Bay garlands: and if my want hindred me

from offering to Minerva great volumes, yet I adventured to strew her temple with loose papers: though my abilitie was not sufficient to present your worship with any worke worth the viewing, yet I presumed, as spurred forward by the report of your courtesie and fame of your vertues, to dedicate this little pamphlet to your worship, conteyning the tattle betweene a Smith and his wife, full of diuerse precepts interlaced with delightfull histories; which if they profit some, and please others, let them returne the end of both to your worship, for whome this worke was first taken in hand: but howsoever it delights or discontents, so it fit your humour, and passe with your gracious acceptance, I shall hit the marke I aimed at; and so, least I should shape Hercules shoo for a childs foote, I commit your worship to the Almighty.

Your worships to command,

ROBERT GREENE.

To the Gentlemen readers,

Health.

GENTLEMEN, I dare not step awrye from my wonted method, first to appeale to your fauorable courtesies, which euer I haue found (howsoever plawfible) yet smothered with a milde silence : the small pamphlets that I haue thrust forth, how you haue regarded them I know not, but that they haue been badly rewarded with any ill tearmes I neuer found, which makes me the more bold to trouble you, and the more bound to rest yours euerye waie, as euer I haue done. I keepe my old course, to palter up some thing in prose, vsing mine old poesie still, *Omne tulit punctum* ; although latelye two Gentlemen Poets made two mad men of Rome beate it out of their paper bucklers ; and had it in derision, for that I could not make my verses iet vpon the stage, in tragicall buskins, euerie worde filling the mouth like the faburden of Bo-Bell, daring God out of heauen with that Atheist *Tamburlan*, or blaspheming with the mad preest of the sonne. But let me rather openly pocket vp the Affe at *Diogenes* hand, then wantonlye set out such impious instances of intollerable poetrie : such mad

and scoffing poets, that haue propheticall spirits as bred of *Merlins* race, if there be anye in England that set the end of scollarisme in an English blanck verse, I thinke either it is the humor of a nouice that tickles them with selfe-loue, or to much frequenting the hot house (to vse the Germaine prouerbe) hath swet out all the greatest part of their wits, which waists *gradatim*, as the Italians say, *poco à poco*. If I speake darkely, Gentlemen, and offend with this digression, I craue pardon, in that I but answere in print, what they haue offered on the Stage. But leauing these phantasticall schollers, as judging him that is not able to make choice of his chaffer but a pedling chapman, at last to *Perymedes the Black Smith*, who sitting in his holi-dai-fute, to enter parlee with his wif, smugd up in her best apparrell, I present to your fauors. If he please, I haue my desire ; if he but passe, I shalbe glad. If neither, I vowe to make amends in my *Oeapharion*, which I promise to make you merry with the next tearme : and thus resting on your wonted courtesies, I bid you farewell.

Yours as euer he hath beene,

R. GREENE.

AU R. GREENE, GENTILHOMME,
SONNET.

*Euphues qui a bien connu fils-aisné d'Eloquence,
Son propre frere puisné te pourroit reconnoistre
Par tes beaux escrits, GREENE, tu fais apparoir
Que de la docte Sœur tu as pris ta naissance.
Marot & de-Mornay pour le langage François :
Pour l'Espagnol Gueuare, Boccace pour le Toscan ;
Et le gentil Sleidan refait l'Allemand :
GREENE & Lylli tous deux raffineurs de l'Anglois.
GREENE a son Mareschal monstrant son arte divine,
Moulée d'une belle Idée : sa plume essorée
Vole viste & haute en parole empennée ;
Son stile d'un beau discours portant la vraie mine.
Courage, donc je-dis, mon amy GREENE, courage !
Mesprise des chiens, corbeaux et chathuans la rage,
Et (glorieux) endure leur malignante furie.
Zoyle arriere, arriere Momus chien enragé,
Furieux mastin hurlant au croissant argenté,
A GREENE iamais nuyre sauroit ta calomnie.*

J. ELIOTE.



PERYMEDES.

THERE dwelled, as the annual records of Egypt makes mention, in the Citie of Memphis, a poore man called Perymedes, whome Fortune enuying from his infancie, had so thwarted with contrarie constellation, that although hee had but his wyfe and him selfe to releue by his manuell labours, yet want had so wrong him by the finger, that ofte the greatest cheere they had was hungar, and their sweetest fauce content : yet Fame, willing to supplie what fortune had faulted with defect, so rewarded poore Perymedes with the glorie of report, that he was not onely loued and liked of all his neighbours, but known for his contented pouertie through all the confines of Egypt. The man coueting, although hee were poore, to be counted vertuous, first eschewed idlenesse, the moath that forest and soonest infecteth the mynde with many mischiefs, and applied him selfe so to his woorke, being a smith, that he thought no victualles to haue their taste which were not purchased by his own sweate. Proude he was not, as one whome pouertie had checked with to great disgrace ; and yet we see that selfe loue hanges in the heart, not in the habite, that Plato durst say (*Calco fastidium Diogenis*) meaning that the poore Cynick was as insolent in his patcht cloake, as Alexander the great in all his royaltie. Enuie, of all other vices hee did eschewe, as a cancker so pestilent to an honest minde, that it suffereth

quiet not so much as to pry into the motions of the heart. Couetous he was not, as one that fought by his handes thrift to fatisfie his owne necessitie; and if any surplufage were graunted by good lucke, hee slept not soundly on saturday at night, till he, his wife, and his neighbours had merilie and honestlie spent it at a homelie banquet. He wanted nothing, as one that against all spight of Fortune opposed patience, and against necessitie content: and yet Fortune, that she might not be thought to iniurious, in lieu of all her other disfaours, lent him a wife of his owne conditions, whome he loued more then himselfe; for the poore woman, although she was barren and had no children, yet was she of a verie pure and perfect complexion, and withall of such good behauour, first in loue and dutie to her husband, and then in friendly and familiar conuersation with her neighbourrs, that shee was thought a wife fit for so honest a husband. These two, thus beloued of all the inhabitants of Memphis, prescribed them selues such an order of life, as diuerse men of great calling sought to be carefull imitators of their methode: for suffring no priuate jarres to come within their poore cottage, as a thing most prejudiciall to an oeconomicall estate, no sooner had these two past away the day, he at his hammers, and she at the bel lowes, for boy they had none, but that sitting them selues to supper, they satisfied nature with that their labour did get, and their calling allow; and no sooner had they taken their repast, but to passe the rest of the evening merely, they fell to pleasant chatte betweene them selues, sometime discoursing of what came first in their heads, with *pro & contra*, as their naturall logick would graunt them leaue, other while with merie tales, honest, and tending to some

good end, without either lasciu[ui]ousnesse or scurilitie. Thus euer they passed away the night; and for that the Egyptians, as a great monument, kept diuerse of their discourses, which some by chance had ouerheard, and put downe as a jewell in their librarie, I meane, as their recordes doe rehearse, to fet downe in brief two of their nightsprattle, which although homely tolde, yet being honest and pleasant, I thought they would breade some conceipted delight to the hearers, and therefore thus.

The first nightes discourse.

No sooner had Perymedes and his wyfe Delia, for so was her name, ended their dayes worke, and taken their repast, but sitting safely in their simple cottage by a little fire, Perymedes began thus solemnly and sadlie to enter into a discourse. I can not thinke, wife, but if we measure all our actions with a true proportion, that wee haue supt as daintely as the proudest in all the cittie of Memphis; for the ende of delicates is but to fatisfie nature, which is so partiall in hir desires, that were not our vitious mindes drowned in gluttonie, content would seale vpp hir request with a very small pittance: but such is the course of the world now a daies, that euerie man seekes, with Philoxenus, to have his necke as long as a crane, that he may with more pleasure swill in the sweete tast of their superfluous deinties. But, wife, since I can remember here in Memphis, Pfamnetichus, our king, was of so sparing a diet, that being demaunded by an ambassadour what caters he had for his household, made answere, his cooke and his stomake; in seeming by this, that his cooke bought no more in the shambles than woulde fatisfie what his stomack desired.

But now, wife, euery meane man must be so curious in his fare, that we are rather to be counted Epicurians than Egiptians; and our Chaldees haue more skill in a cup of wine than in a librarie: which superfluitie bredeth both beggerie to manie, and diseases to all. For so they drowne them selues in the bottomlesse sea of gluttonie, as at last they make their bodies a subject for the physition, thinking that the temperature of their complexions can neuer be well affected, vnlesse their stomacks bee made a verie apotecaries shoppe, by receiuing a multitude of simples and drugges, so to settle their wauering constitution. Those men that wed them selues to such inordinate excesse, finde diuerse and sondrie passions to torment the stomack and all the body; which no sooner paynes them, but straight, as experience is a great mistresse, they calculate the nature of the disease, and straight flye to purging, to phlebotomie, to fomentacions, and such medicinall decretalls, according to the interiour or exteriour nature of the disease; where as perhaps some slender fault is the efficient cause of such a momentanie passion, better to be cured by time than physick. But excesse in diet (wife) breedeth this restlessse desire, and so manie are the diseases incident by our owne superfluities, that euerie one had neede to haue an herball tied at his girdle. Well, I haue heard my father say, that he was but one daie sicke in all his life time, being then also through ouer much labour fallen into a feauer. And this perfect temperature of the bodie did not proceede from the diuersities of potions and daintie delicates, but by a true proportion of exercise and diet; which Zeno, the philosopher, noted well to be true, who beeing of a verie weake and tender constitution, subiect oft to sicknesse, yet neuer

kept his bed, being demaunded of a Lacedemonian, what preservatives he did use, Zeno, willing to be brieve in his answeres, shewed them a peece of bread and a dish of water, with a strong bowe of steele; meaning by this enigma to discover vnto them, that he raced out his diseases by exercise and fasting, as two especiall pointes necessarie for the perfecting of mans health.

You say truth, husband, quoth Delia; for oft haue I heard my mother say, that three thinges are the chiefeſt delicates, which who so vseth ſhall liue long and happely, hunger, quiet, and mirth; but to auer your ſayings to be true, euerie one ſeekes to attaine the contrarie, which cauſeth ſuch ſodaine death and perilous diſeaſes: mo perith by gluttonie than by the ſworde, for in ſteade of hunger men ſeeke to ſatiſfie nature with exceſſe; for quiet, enuie at others happineſſe preſentes a ſtratageme, for mirth melancholie, and couetous humours how moſt greedily to gaine. Thus euerie one ſeekes that time and experience proues moſt prejudiciall; but the time hath bene, yea, Perymedes, and within my remembrance, when the inhabitantes of Memphis knewe not what ryot and ill diet ment, but euerie man, applying him ſelfe to frugalitie, coueted to be thought honeſt and vertuous, where as, nowe a daies, the meaneſt doth deſire to be thought proud and ſumptuous. While Numa Pompilius baniſhed exceſſe out of Rome, there was no drugges brought to the cittie from Africa: while Romulus drunke no wine, exceſſe was not noted amongſt his ſubjects; neither had a phyſition any palme in his dominions, till his ſucceſſors Caligula, Nero, and the reſt, aſſigned trophees and triumphs for ſuch as beſt could play the part of epicures. And becauſe, my good

Perymedes, we be fet alone by the fire (and with this she recht him a friendlie *Bezo les labros*), and none here but our selues, thou shalt see what long I haue kept close in my cheft,—certaine precepts of physick that long since were giuen by one of the Caldees to Pharaο, the last king of Memphis of that firename: which, for that they were pretious as wel for the doctrine as the methode, I haue kept them as dere as I did my virginie before I met thee. And with that she hied her to her hutch, where she fet out an olde peece of parchment, where was written as followeth:

Certaine preceptes of household physick, given by Rabby Bendezzar, one of the Chaldees, to Pharaο, the king of Memphis.

Confidering, right mightie foueraigne, that dutie brooketh not exceptions of time, but that the reuerent seruice of an honest minde is tied to his lord as carefully in sicknesse as in health, although want, the enemy to desire, hath not stored my librarie with Galen, Auicen, nor Hyppocrates, yet dutifull affection, willing to make supplie, presented from the garden of my thoughts certeine receipts, compounded of fundrie simples, which I beseech your highnesse to apply as shall best stand with your fauourable opinion.

The world
the worst
paymaster.

First, to present an aphorisme, which Auicen grudged to pen down, as an enemy to that science, receiue twenty ounces of merrie conceits, pounded in the mortar of a quiet resolution: vse this pouder in your morning and euening potions, forbearing to much exercise of minde, as prejudiciall to the body: sith the world, the paimistresse of vertuous indeuours, hath all her coffers filled with forgetfull ingratitude.

2. And sith sicknesse desires companie, and fondrie forts presentes them selues to a solitarie man, vse a charme so pretious, as Galen feared to bewray amidst his principles: write over your chamber dore in siluer letters, *Neque medicus si morosus*. By this spell you shall forbid Melancholie entrance, the forest enemy to mans helth, whose operations, as they are secret, so they are mortall. If this should faile, receiue an experiment confirmed with *Probatum est*. Take the sweete herbe called pleasant content; with that make a perfume about your bed chamber and where you dyne: the favour of this is as sure a repulse to exile melancholie, as the ostracisme was to the noble of Athens.

Melancholie, the forest enemy to mans health.

3. Science, a monster that wayteth upon oportunitie, presents by her selfe to a sicke person in fondrie shapes, some breeding proffit, others prejudice to auoide hir illusion. Note this: when she comes with a plawfible speech, hir attier black in damaske or veluet, a fide gowne, a large cape, holding in the one hand a glasse of goates milke to restore, in the other some secret drug to purge suspect, and graunt no admittance, vnlesse you see about her three markes:—in hir forehead the figure of myrth, in hir bosome the pourtraiture of conscience, and the mouth of her purse sealed with the signet of content, marked thus: vse hir as a friend, and send hir away rewarded.

The description of a phytion.

The marks of a good phisition.

4. In that sicknesse is passionate, and choller, the heralt of melancholie, inflicteth many griefes by ouerflowing of the gall, to suppress his enuious furie, take an herbe of a mild fauour, yet verie precious, called patience: his vertue is restrictiue and expulsiue, knitting content to the minde, and driuing out disquiet from the thoughtes.

Patience a precious simple.

5. The auncient Alcumists reposed great trust in their

Hope a
singular
preferua-
tive.

philosophers stone, as the most necessarie jewell to drawe out quintesses for restoratiues. But our late phisitions haue found out a singular minerall, called Hope; applie this to your stomack as a soveraine simple against disquiet and feare, two passions incident to many patients.

Harts ease
a defensorie
against
griefe.

6. Albertus Magnus, in his Secrets, sets downe the nature of fundrie herbes, some to procure mirth, other sleepe, according to their particular vertues; but our late practitioners haue found a roote, whose operation comprehendeth all those properties which they call Hearts ease: this applie to your left side, both day and night, in sicknesse and in health, as a defensorie against ensuing griefes, a preseruer of present quiet, and a medecine generall for any passionate disease. Thus, right mightie soveraigne, though not as a phisition, for that our times and diets brooke not hir axiomes, yet as a poore and dutifull wellwiller, I haue set downe sondrie simples fit for receites; which if it shall stand with your highnesse good liking to applie, I shall rest, as euer I haue done, an earnest suter to the Almightye, that their operation may take wished effect, as well for recoverie, as for preseruing your health.

RABBY BENDEZZAR.

They had no sooner scanned over this wryting, but Perymedes began to accuse the iniquitie of their time, that had made such difference in medicinal precepts, and therefore burst forth into these tearmes. Well, wife, thus fares the course of the worlde, to decline euer to the worst, for when Rabby Bendezzar set downe these principles to Pharao, no doubt epicures had not yet erected any academie in Egypt; but since his time, excesse hath taken such an

interest in the mindes of men, that his reasons would be counted follies, in that every axiome sheweth not the art of an apothecarie. But leaving such to their follies, how happy are we that eate to liue, and liue not to eate; who count it a banquet to suffice nature with any thing, hauing our health, when greater potentates are pained with sur-fets. Well, husband, quoth Delia, seeing we are content with our pouertie, and make a vertue of necessitie, let vs not (*nimis altum sapere*) stretch our strings so hie as to medle with our superiours, but rest quiet at the delight of our owne estate: and therefore, seeing the night is yet long, and our fire is like to last, and this discourse sufficiently discussed, say husband, how shall we spende the rest of the euening? for what you set downe I hold for lawe. In deede, wife, quoth Perymedes, it is ill meddling further than the latchet: the fox had his skin pulled over his eares for prying into the lyons dennes: poore men should looke no hier then their feete, least in staring at starres, they ftumble. If others offend and become vitious that are rich, it little booteth vs that are poore to reprehend them, for it reapeth often reuenge, but the best reward is enuie. Clytus, who was a mightie lord and friend to Alexander, was slayne for his good admonition: mightie men cannot brooke the touch of their ill, and, therefore, wife, we will this night passe away the time in telling some pleasant and merie tale; so shall we beguile the euening with some pleasure, eschewe idlenesse, the welspring of many mischiefes, and banish vaine thoughtes that breede disquiet and discontent. My selfe will tell one, and thou shalt tell another. Delia by being silent seemed to consent, and so Perymedes began his tale in this manner.

The husbands wit,
a law to
an honest
wife.

Perymedes tale.

In the kingdom of Tyre, while Euribates reigned as foueraine, there gouerned vnder him as his lieutenant one Prestynes, a noble man, better beloued for his iustice then fauoured by fortune; who, hauing a ladie of no lesse parentage than vertue, and yet accounted the most honorable matron in all the East parts, liued peaceably in his prouince, till Voltarus, king of Sydon, attempted the inuasion of Tyre, and finding fortune favourable to his desires, made a conquest of the lande, killing Euribates, and leading Prestynes prisoner to Sydon. Which newes no sooner came to the eares of his wife Mariana, for so was hir name, but fearing the violent handes of the enemy, being big with childe, and hauing an other of two yeares of age, thee, with a fewe jewels which she had kept secret in a casket, embarked hir self in a little frigot, intending hir course to Lippary, where hir friends dwelt. But fortune, who ment to make hir a mirrour of hir inconstancie, as it were entring a league with Neptune, droue hir vpon the coast of Decapolis, wher perforce she was forst to lande; not remaining on shoare three dayes, before, in the companie of an other gentlewoman that was nourse to hir sonne, she was brought to bed of a man childe, whome she called Infortunio. Distressed thus, she past away many daies till a faire winde might serue to transport hir to Lippary; which comming about according to the marriners minde, they caused the lady to fende hir two infants aborde with their nourse, she hir selfe solitarilie walking by the shoare till the cockboate came againe to fetch hir. But the destinies, who are impartiall in their resolutions, hauing intended a worfe

mishap, gaue hir a forer mate in this maner : no sooner had they shipped the sely babes, but that a barke of Courfayres and pyrates came by, who, seeing this ship not greatly manned for defence, bare towards it, and borded it, carrying away both vessell and marriners as a pryse ; which Mariana seeing, she sent foorth shrikes as intreaties to perswade them to retourne, and most pittifull renting of hir hayre made signes of hir sorrowes ; but in vaine, for she gat nothing but dolefull echoes of hir complaints, which strake such a grief into hir minde, that she fell downe in a sounde, till at last comming to her selfe, finding she was deprived of husband, children, cuntrye, friends, yea, and left all alone in a desert, furcharged with grieffe, she sat her downe by the shoare, and fell into these piteous passions.

Infortunate Mariana ! whome fortune, or some contrarie fate above fortune, hath sought to make a speciall object of haplesse and distressed miserie, seest thou not a dismall influence to inflict a dispairing chaos of confused mishaps ? art thou not first by the vniust destinies bereft of Prestines thy husband, exiled thy cuntrye, a place as precious as life, seperated from thy friends, the sweetest comfort, but nowe deprived of thy children, in whose companie there did consist the salve for all the forenamed miseries ? Ah, Mariana ! sigh and sob at these sorrowes ; but what auayles shewes when the haruest is past, or grieffe when actions cannot be amended by passions ? Nowe Mariana, doest thou see that fortune, that fiend and gracelesse monster, the double faced daughter of Janus, whose pleasure is inconstancie, whose thoughts are variable, whose temples are strewed with roses and nettles, and whose sacrifices saueur of most infectious incenses, are not all hir gifts perilous,

Friends
and coun-
treys deare
to a man.

The dis-
cription of
Fortune.

Patience
the best
salve
against
Fortune.

seeme they never so pretious? doth she inriche thee with treasure, feare that in the other hande she holdes pouertie to checke thy presumption; doth she aduaunce thee with honor and dignitie, knowe such fauours are brittle, and hir bravest feates are made of glasse; if with friends, alas, she presents amidst their troupes fained affections and flatterie. Thus euerie way hir favours are mortall, and the more gliftring, the more prejudicial. Too late, poore ladie, hast thou tried these premisses for trueth, thy selfe an instance of hir inconstancie: what then shalt thou do, being thus infortunate? hope thou canst not, fith thy present mishap tels thee fortune hath resolved thine overthrowe. Dispaire then, Mariana; dispaire and die; so shalt thou glut the ruthlesse destinies with a most balefull stratageme. Since thy husband, thy children, haue bene the first actors, end thou desperatly such a dolefull tragedie: let fortune see how thou scornes to be infortunate: feare not death, which is the ende of sorrowe and beginning of blisse, but to thee, Mariana, that lying in distresse, yet dye happie: let not dispaire euer enter within thy thoughts; grace not fortune so much in hir wilfulnesse; bee patient, and so spight hir with content, for hir greatest grieve is to see hir crosses borne with an indifferent minde. Time, Mariana, is the nourse of hope, and oft thwarteth fortune in hir decrees: then, chere vp thy selfe, and leade here a solitarie life in this desert, with such patience, as making a vertue of necessitie, thou drowne all dispairing conceipts with content. I, but alas, my children, my poore babes, scarce knownen to fortune, before enuied by fortune! And with that casting hir eye to the sea, she was so ouerpressed with sorrowe, as she could not vtter any worde more, but melting into teares

fat a long time in secret and sorrowfull meditation, till at last with a deepe sigh shee groned forth these wordes, hope and patience. And with that she rose, and resolved to live as a savage woman, till death, or some better destinie, might mitigate some part of hir martyrdom. In this resolution, she went and sought her out a cave, which she trimmed up with boughes, making her, in steede of hir beddes of downe, a couch of mosse and leaves; hir fauce was hunger, hir foode the fruites of the earth. And thus she lay there by the space of two or three yeere, vnseene, or vnknown of any bodie. Fortune, not brooking hir owne bitternesse, seeing how patient the ladie was in hir miseries, determined to adde some reliefe to hir passions, which shee brought to passe in this manner. The Despot of Decapolis and his wife, for solace sake, being one day rode on hunting, by chaunce, in pursute of a stagge which they had in chace, lost their way, and happened into that desert; where they had not wandered long but they met Mariana in savage manner, almost naked, her haire of amber couler hanging downe to hir feete, hir face shriveled and parched with the sunne; in so much as thus disguised and deformed, as well with hir ill diet and the weather as with hir sorrowe, shee seemed some Satire, borne and bread in that desert. The Despot and his wife, amazed at this sodaine sight, stood still, narrowly marking the gesture of Mariana, who was playing with a little fawne which she had nourished up; till at last she, casting up her eyes and seeing them there, arose hastily, and was ready to depart; but the Despot, who desired to know what she might be, drawing more neere, perceived by the lineament of hir face that she had bene a woman of good proportion, began to salute hir

A comfortable meditation.

in this maner. Woman, Satyre, Nymphe, or whatfoeuer thou be that liuest thus as a sauage creature in the deserts, tell me of courtesie, as to a straunger that pitties thy estate, whether thou be bred here, and so naturally wedded to this brutish kinde of life, or if some misfortune hath led thee to this extreeme mishap, that so either I may marueile at such a strange breede, or els both pittie and seeke to reliefe thy miserie? Mariana, hearing the Despot speake thus honorably and friendly, made no answere at all, but staring in his face, called to remembraunce hir former estate, and shamed at hir present wretchednesse; so that the teares standing in hir eyes, the burden of ouermuch sorrowe made hir a long while silent, yet at last, comming more nere, she made him this answere.

Ingrati-
tude ought
neuer to
be vsed.

Curteous straunger, if I ouerslip either dutie or reuerence due to thy calling, thinke my sauage life leades me to such ignorance, and therefore the more worthie of pardon; but whatfoeuer thou be, king or keifar, know this: I am no Satyr, but a woman distressed, and placed here by the enuie of fortune, where time and patience hath learned me to liue content: for thy pitie I returne thanks, as one whome these woodes haue not yet pierced with ingratitude; for thy reliefe I refuse it as a thing contrarie to my resolution, for in this life I meane to die. No soner had she made this reply, but she was tourning hir back, had not the Despots wife intreated hir to tell the course of hir abode in these desertes, and of what parentage shee was. Mariana, hearing the ladie pitifull though importunate, began to resolue hir in this maner. Madame, for no lesse your countenance and behaiour imports, long it were to discourse of my former estate, and a taske worse than death to recount my misfor-

tunes, fith the rubbing of halfe healed scarres would but renewe olde foores, which should greue me greatlie to rehearse, and would little proffit you to heare. Yet somewhat to fatisfie your demand, know I once tasted of honor, as descended from noble parentes, and as you, and felt my felfe safe, seated in pleasure: welth I had, as fauoured with rich possessions, but nowe fates that cannot be auoyded, and fortune that will be mistresse of hir decrees, taught me honor was brittle, and riches as blossomes that euerie frost of fortune can cause to wither; so that both dishonored and poore, yet I liue more happie, for that I haue opposed my minde against all mishaps, not caring for fortune, because too low for fortune. Thus, madame, you haue heard what I haue bene, and see what presently I am. The Despot, seeing she would faine be gone, hearing she was of honorable parentage, stept more nigh and tooke hir by the hand, adiuring by the loue she euer bare to him she liked best, that she would tell hir name, hir countrie, and the cause of hir abode in these deserts. Mariana, a long while vnwilling and yet at last ouercome with their importunacie, discoursed vnto them whose wife she was, and from point to point discouered the fore rehearsed premises. The Despot and his wife, who knew very well Prestines, hearing such a tragicall catastrophe, tooke such compassion of the ladie, that, sitting downe by hir, they fell into teares; which ouerpast, they fought by perswasions to driue hir from that miserable resolution, the Despots wife offering hir to be second ladie and mistresse in hir house, wher she should be entertained, not as a friend only, but as hir own sister. Mariana was thankfull, but not to be intreated, till at last wonne with such earnest protestations, she graunted to

Ineuitable
fatum.

Riches not
perma-
nent.

Courtesie
is honora-
ble.

go with them ; which greatly contented the Despot, so that casting his mantell about hir, and taking hir vp behind him, he roade forward to seeke his companie, whome when he had found, leauing all his sport, he hied home to his house, a ioyfull man of such an incounter. Where we leaue him, and retourne to the Courfayers and pyrates ; who, comming at last with their pryse to Japhet, a promontorie seated by the sea, they folde the nourse and the two children to the gouernour of the citie, who was called Lamorag, being brother to the Despot of Decapolis ; who, when they came to age, kept them vp as slaues, setting them to all kinde of drudgerie. The nourse, although of meane parentage yet passing wise, feared to betray from whence the children were issued, and therefore called them hir owne sonnes, naming the eldest, whose name was Castriot, Procidor ; but the yongest she suffered to retaine his surname. The children, thus kept seruile and miserable, being come to some yeares of discretion, their nourse tolde the eldest whose sonne he was, charging him vpon his life not to bewray his progenie, least it might be greatly preiudiciall to his estate, but to content him selfe with hope till time did allowe better fortune. Procidor, for so we will now call him, as he grewe in yeares, so he grew in wisedome, that he couertly concealed what his nourse gaue him in charge : and as the palme tree cannot be brought from his height by pressing downe, nor the diamont bereaued of his vertue, though he be set in brasse, so Procidor, although he was in the state of a slaue, poore, miserable, and acquainted with labours, yet his minde reaching at honor began to be impatient of commande. So that in a day, finding fit oportunitie, without taking his leaue of his

Pouertie
hinders
not wisedome.

nourfe, he flipt him felfe in a barke of Alexandria, to feeke his fortune; where, paffing away three or foure yeeres at the feas, and getting little or no preferment, hearing alfo that his father (whome he fupposed to be dead) was yet liuing, and prifoner in Sydon, as one in difpaire, and paff hope, he traueled many ftraunge countries, till at laft he came to Decapolis: where he had not long bene refident, but the Defpot, feeing him a young youth very well proportioned, of good grace, and of a refolute difpofition, intertained him into his feruice; fo that hee liued in the houfe with his mother vnknownen, for the fpace of a yeare: in which time, Marcella, the daughter of the Defpot, noting the perfection of Procidor, began at the altars of Vefia to offer fmoaking thoughts at the fhryne of Venus. For womens eyes delight in the varietie of obiectes. The mayde, feeing that the fharpneffe of his wit (a fparke that fooneft inflameth defire) was anfwerable to the fhape of his bodie, and that his minde was adorned with fo many fundrie good qualities, that, if his fortune had bene equall to his face, his deferts might haue made him a prince, she began fo farre to enter into the confiderations of his vertues, that, hazing too rafhlie into fo dangerous a laborinth, ſhe felt hir minde begin to alter and her affections to ſtoop to ſuch a ſtate, as repent ſhe might, but recall ſhe could not. But taking theſe thoughts for paſſionat ioyes, that might be thruſt out at pleaſure, curſing loue that attempted ſuch a chaunge, and blaming the baſeneſſe of hir minde that would make ſuch a choice, to auoide the Syren that enchanted hir with ſuch deceitfull melodie, ſhe called to hir bed-fellowe, Mariana, for a lute, whereupon, warbling a merie galliard, ſhe thought to beguile ſuch vnacquainted paſſions;

Loue a
perilous
laborinth.

Musick
mitigats
not loue.

but, finding that musicke was but to quench the flame with oyle, feeling the assaults to bee so sharpe, as hir minde was ready to yelde as vanquished, she began with diuers considerations to suppress the franticke affections; calling to minde that Procidor was hir fathers seruant, a man of meane and base parentage, for his birth not to be looked at of the daughter of a Despot, much lesse to be loued of one of hir degree; thinking what a discredit it were to hir selfe, what a grieve to hir parents, what a sorrowe to hir friendes, yea, what a mightie shame should be guerdon to such a monstrous fault, blaming fortune, and accursing hir owne follie, that should be so fond as but once to harbour such a thought, as to stoupe so lowe as to hir fathers hyerling. As thus she was raging against hir selfe, loue feared, if she dallied long, to loose her champion; and therefore stepping more high, gaue hir such a fresh wound as pierst hir at the verie heart, that she was faine to yelde, maugre hir former considerations, and forsaking all companie, to get hir in hir closet, where being solemnlie set, she burst forth into these passionate tearmes.

Vnhappie Marcella! hath fame hetherto feared to speake ill of thy thoughts, and shall report dare to misconstrue of thine actions? hath Decapolis honoured thee for thy vertues, and shall now all the worlde wonder at thee for thy vanities? hast thou vowed thy selfe to Vesta, and wilt thou runne after Venus? wilt thou be counted a president of virginity, and yet subiect thy selfe to vnbridled fancie? No, Marcella; there is no sweeter friend than libertie, nor no worse enemy than inconsiderate affection: the thoughtes of ladies, Marcella, as they are worthy, so ought they to looke no lower than honor. Blush, then, at thy fortunes,

thy choice, thy loue, fith thy thoughts cannot be contriued without fecret shame, nor thy affections vttered without open discredit: farre are thefe fancies, or rather follies, vnfit for thy byrth. Haft thou not heard, Marcella, as an oracle from Apollo, that it is better to perish with high defire, then liue in bafe thoughts. And yet, Procidor is beautifull, a fauour, fond foole, framed to feede the eye, not to fret the heart: he is wife, truth, but poore, and want is an enemy to fancy. Tush! being both beautifull and wife, why should he not be loued? Wilt thou fo farre forget thy felfe as to fuffer affection to intangle thee with fuch bad coniectures? no, confider how fuch a match will be moft difmall to thy father, moft grieuous to thy friendes, preiudiciall to thy felfe, and moft gladfome to thy foes, the greateft grieve of all, fith the fmyle of a foe, that proceedeth from enuie, is worfe then the teare of a friend that commeth of pittie. Thefe premisses then duely confidered, preferre not a barly corne before a precious iewell; fet not a fading content before a perpetuall difhonour; fuppreffe thy affections, and ceafe to loue him whom thou couldft not loue, vnleffe blinded with to[o] much loue. As thus ſhe was perplexed with fundrie paſſions, Mariana came to feeke hir in hir cloſet; whereupon ſhe ceaſed hir complaintes, hoping that time would weare out that which fond loue and fortune had wrought, but all was in vayne; for ſo did the remembraunce of her late conceiued loue alienate hir thoughts from hir wonted diſpoſition, that ſhame and diſhonor, the greateſt preventers of miſhap, were no meanes to diſwade hir from hir determined affection: in ſo much that, not poſſible to hyde fire in the ſtrawe, nor to ſmother vp fancy in youth, ſhe bore ſuch a fauourable countenance

Vnpoſſible
to con-
ceale loue.

to Procidor, that not only hir selfe, but the rest of the house marueiled at hir submisfe familiaritie. Yet in that she had hetherto troden hir shoe so euen, as no steppe was so much as thought awry, they construed all to the best, and thought hir fauours toward Procidor proceeded as a reward for his vertues, not from a regarde to his beautie. But at last, being Venus scholler, and therefore daring with hir to daunce in a net, played not so close, but Procidor could iudge of colours, and espye of the halfe what the whole ment: puffed vp, therefore, a little in conceipt with the fauour of his masters daughter, seeing oportunitie layde hir hairie forehead on his lappe, he began somewhat peartlie to prie into the exquisitnes of hir perfection; noting that she was passing beautifull and young, and that vertue added a grace vnto nature, and that being of noble parentage, beautie decked nature with dignitie. This interchange considered so charmed the poore gentlemans affections, that fayne he would haue made requitall of hir fauours with like courtesie, if her honourable estate had not quatted his presumption with feare. Houering thus betweene two streames, at last he burst forth into these complaintes.

Doeſt thou not know, poore Procidor, that actions wrought against nature reape despight, and thoughts aboue fortune, disdaine; that what byrd gaseth against the sunne, but the eagle, becommeth blinde; and that such as step to dignitie, if vnfit, fall; that thoughtes are to be measured by fortunes, not by desires; how falles come not by stouping lowe, but by clyming to hie. Shall, therefore, all feare to aspyre because some hap to fall? No, Procidor, though thou art in ragges, yet thou art noble borne; thou art not

inferiour to Marcella in byrth, though in riches : then dare to attempt, sith she shewes thee such manifest fauours. Ah, nouice in loue ! doest thou count euery dimple in the cheeke a decree in the heart, euery lims a warrant of loue ? Venus, fond man, lookt on more than she loued, or els [was] she passing amorous : womens smiles are oft more of custome than of courtesie, and passing prodigall they bee with their eyes when they are niggardes in their hearts : for thinke not, fond man, that eagles will catch at flies, cedars stoope to brambles, nor such honorable dames at such homely peasants. No, no, thinke hir disdaine is greater than thy desire, for accounting thee but a slaue, and hir fathers mercinarie man, she doth but repay thy labours with affabilitie : therefore cease not onely to fay, but to thinke she loues thee.

Procidor, with these pithie perswasions, somewhat appeasing the sparkling flames of loue that already were kindled in his brest, applied him selfe to his wonted labour, suppressing his affections with the due consideration of hir honour, and his owne meane estate, and counting it frenzie, not fancie, to couet that which the very destinies woulde denie him to obtaine. These two, thwarted thus with feare and shame, lingreth forth the time, till at last fortune, willing to present in a sweete figge bitter wormewood, found such fit oportunitie, that Procidor and Marcella met at such leysure, that not long after Marcella was knowen to be with childe : which newes no sooner came to the eares of the Despot, but as a man intraged [with] furie and reuenge, driuing reason out of conceipt, he presently caused Procidor to be apprehended, and his daughter Marcella, resolving that, according to the law of the countrey, they should

die. The mother, more pitifull confidering the follies of hir owne youth, began to intreate hir husband to spare their liues, and affigne what punishment els, though the torture were neuer fo grieuous; which by long perfwafion, he confented vnto, committing them vnto ftraight prifon, where they lay in great diftreffe the fpace of ten weekes, before euer the Despot made any queftion of their imprifonment. While thus Procidor lay forrowing, more for the mishap of Marcella than for his own misfortune, newes was brought to Decapolis that Euribates fonne had gathered an hoft, and fought to driue Voltarus out of the confines of Tyre; which Procidor hearing, he began thus to meditate with him felfe. Vnhappy Procidor! fee howe fortune intending thy good, the hapleffe fates feeke to frustrate fuch fucceffe: haft thou thefe fourteen yeeres gone as a vacabonde about the world, unknowen and defpifed, hoping for this day that Euribates fonne fhould feeke reuenge on Voltarus, and art thou now in pryfon, when oportunitie offreth fuch good fortune, yea and in fuch a place as nought but death can redeeme thee? The iaylor ouerhearing Procidor, asked him what he had to doe with the peace or warres of princes? Ah! my good friend, (quoth he) when I confider in what eftate my father whilome liued in that countrey, as I haue heard, and am able almoft to remember, I cannot but grone to fee my prefent ill happe. And who was thy father? (quoth the iaylor). Seing, answered Procidor, that time hath fet the fonne of Euribates almoft in his kingdome, I feare not to difcouer what I am. My fathers name is Preftines, Lieutenant of Tyre vnder Euribates, and my name, not Procidor, but Caftriot; and I doubt not but if I were there, for my fathers fake to

reape credit and authoritie. Without further questioning, the iaylor went presently and tolde the Despot what he had heard; who making small account of the matter, yet presently considered with him selfe, if it were true, howe greatly he should, by making such a marriage, auoyde the shame like to befall to his daughter; therefore he went and asked of Mariana what her eldest sonnes name was, who made answere Castriot, and that, if he liued, he was about twentie yeares of age. The Despot, suspecting it was he, went secretly to the pryson, where examining Procidor of al his life past, found by probable circumstances that he was Prestines sonne: whereupon he began to recount vnto him howe he toke him into his seruice, placing him in his fauour; then the iniurie he offred him by infringing his daughters honor; yet, for all this, crauing no other amends but that he would take hir to wife. Procidor made answere, what he had done was the fault of his youth, and that he was both sorrowfull and repentant; and, that he might thinke it firme loue, and not fading fancie, that forst him to commit such a fault, he was ready at his pleasure to take Marcella to his wife. The Despot, seeing sparkes of his fathers courage in his resolutions, embrased him, and sending for his daughter into the same prison, there secretly betrothed each to other, then tooke them out, and sent them to a graunge place of his in the countrey. Within short time they recouered their former complexions, greatly impaired by their close imprisonment. In the meane space the Despot, prouiding all things necessarie for the marriage, seeing they were retourned into the former forme, caried his wife, and madame Mariana, to his graunge; where by the way he demaunded of hir, howe happy it would be

vnto hir, if he did marrie his daughter to hir eldest sonne Castriot. Madame Mariana, smiling, told him it was impossible, sith she thought him dead. Being well arriued at his farme, he brought his wife and the ladie into the chamber where the two louers sate very richely appareled, vnto whom at large he discovered what had happened. When Mariana knewe hir sonne Castriot, noting very well the liniaments of his face, she fell in a fount for ioye; but being at last reuiued, after many and hartie embracings and ioy on al partes, they sat downe to dinner, Castriot desiring the Despot that he would send to Iaphet, where was one Lamoraq, gouernour of the towne, that helde his yonger brother and his nourse as slaues. This motion was greatly agreable to the Despot, so that he presently sent a messenger to Iaphet, and another to Tyre, to heare of the estate of Prestines. The messengers, making as much speede as winde and weather would permitte, arriued fortunatly at their desired places, where no sooner the one was arriued, but he deliuered his embassage to Lamoraq; who musing to heare such news from his brother, the Despot, went to confirme his doubt the more, and subtely examined the nourse, who confessed as before; whereupon to fatisfie his brother, and requite the great iniurie he had profered to young Infortunio, hauing but onely one daughter of the age of fourteene yeares, he gaue hir with a great dowry to the poore gentleman; and withall shipping him selfe in a frygat, with his daughter, his sonne in lawe, and the nourse, he sayled to Decapolis: at whose arriuall, great ioy being made betweene Mariana and hir two sonnes, the marriage of the gentlemen was sollemnised the next weeke after; and to increase therein content, newes

was brought that Euribates sonne, hauing subdued Vol-
tarus, and recouered his kingdome, he had set Prestines in
former place and authoritie. This newes greatly delight-
ing the companie, when the marriage feast was ended, the
ladie and hir two sonnes, with their wiues, taking leaue of
the Despot and Lamoraq, failed to Tyre, where they were
most louingly entertained by Prestynes.

Perymedes hauing ended his tale, his wife Delia, raging
against fortune, that was most enuious to them that were
most honorable, said that poore men were like little shrubs,
that by their baseness escaped many blastes, when high
and tall cedars were shaken with euerie tempest : conclud-
ing, therefore, that *mediocria* were most *firma*, seeing her
fyre was out, and the night somewhat colde, they both
hyed them selues to bed.

The second nights discourse.

The day was no sooner spent in labour, but the poore
Smith and his wife, according to their accustomed manner
after supper, would not be idle, but sitting close by the fire,
Delia brought out an olde payre of cardes to passe away
the time at play ; whereupon Perymedes taking occasion
began to discourse in this manner. These cardes (wife)
may rightly be tearmed *glucupilica*, sweete and fower,
double faced, bearing on their foreheads pleasures and
peace, and in their backes sorrowes and stratagemes, pre-
senting us with delicates, which in the mouth taste like
hony, but in the mawe more bitter than gall ; for although
we vse them for recreation to passe away the time, yet
other ayme at two endes, lucre and couetousnesse, and yet
their gaines but losse of time. And the effects of gaming

here now a dayes in Memphis, as they are many, so they are monstrous, as quarels, murders, blasphemies, swearing, and coufinage, yea the ouerthrowe of houses and families, testifying the infamous nature therof. Chilon, the Lacedemonian, being sent in ambassage to Corinth, to treat of a league betwixt those two cities, finding the rulers playing at dice, retourned back without once speaking of his commission, saying that he would not eclipse the glorie of the Spartanes with so great an ignominie as to ioyne them in societie with dice players. Delia, hearing hir husband enuying so much against playing, thinking he did it to check hir desire to play at cardes, began thus to defend it.

And would you haue vs, husband, so farre from recreation in Memphis, as to be stoikes or cyniks? Well had I allowed (husband) of your speeches, if they had fauoured of anie exception; but so strict an inuectiue deserues some apologie, and therefore by your fauour, husband, thus: I denie not but those effectes which you repeated as frutes of gaming are greatly preiudiciall, both to the minde and bodie, but they proceede not of necessitie, as *causa sine qua non*, but as infections that flowe from the abuse being growen into an extremitie. For we see that many things, which of them selues are good, by excesse growe into the nature of euill, and so of this; for Salomon, whose deuine wisedome was without comparison, set downe his censure of time, that as there were daies of sorrow, so were there houres of mirth; that the minde had as well pastimes to recreate, as serious affaires to fatigate. Cato, the most seuerer cenfor that was euer in Rome, amongst all his straight edictes, did not vtterly abolish gaming, but allowed the Purpurati to spende certaine houres at such pastimes

as they thought neceffarie, faying, that moderate fport was a whetstone to the memorie. I haue heard the Chaldees fay, that the Lydians were the firft inuenters of cardes and dice, and other games; and by them preferued a long time the estate of their common wealth, which otherwise fhould haue bene ruinated and fubiected. Perymedes, hearing his wife to alledge fuch found reafons for gamsters, thought to ioyne action with her in this manner.

You refemble, wife, thofe fubtill lawyers that onely alledge that claufe in their euidence which beft ferues for the prooffe of their plea, leauing out all other prouifoes that are hurtfull in deede. I remember I haue heard that the countrey of Lidia, being oppreffed with a great dearth and fcarcitie of victualles, had almoft fubuerted their estate with famine, but that to refift and fustaine hunger the better, they inuented playes and gaming, fpending euery other day in fuch fporte without any meate, which they continued for the fpace of twentie and eight yeares; by that pollicie preferuing their countrey from a generall famine by fparing fo carefully their prouifion. But, wife, the cafe is altred in us: we are fo farre from recompencing the fault of fo vile an occupation by fafting, that contrariwife, we foster it vp with all kinde of diffolutenefse, gluttonie, riot, and superfluitie; in fo much that we are not afhamed nowe adayes to vfe this prouerbe (that a man had better loofe than to be idle); but if thofe leud philosophers which fet downe this principle knewe their inestimable loffe, not of mony which they abuse, but of the riches and moft pretious thing that may be fpent, and which can neuer be recouered, I meane time, they would be afhamed of their doctrine, that to loofe is worfe than to be idle, be-

cause it is ioyned with so bad an action as, of necessitie, redoundeth to the detriment of him selfe, or of his neighbour, yea, and oftentimes of both. And yet, because the nature of man is not able to abide continuall labour, and occasion of businesse is not alwayes offered, we may with our Chaldees in their academies followe this precept, that time spent in honest pastime, or game of moderate pleasure, may be set downe in the register of happie dayes as howres, not greatly dissonant from vertuous indeuours. Neither, faith Scipio, is gaming blame worthie, if we vse it as rest and sleepe, after we haue ended and dispatched our businesse. I am glad (quoth Delia) that you allowe vs any time to play. I am not so strict, quoth Perymedes; but this discourse, wife, is farre from the purpose: therefore seeing we haue yet halfe the euening to spende, and I haue no delight to play at cardes, let me heare thee tell a tale to requite yesternightes chat. Delia, nothing dainty with hir husband, taking the tongs in hir hand to keepe the fire in reparations, began in this manner.

Delia hir tale.

In the Ile of Lyppary there dwelled sometime a gentleman of good parentage, as descended from worshipfull and honest parents, learned by education, as trained vp amongst the philosophers in their academies, vertuous in his actions, as putting in practize those principles which he hearde in their [c]hooles, as axiomes; generally, well noutried, in so much that he liued in very good account in the iland. This gentleman, called Alcimides, although fauoured thus with fondrie good qualities, yet was greatly enuied by loue and fortune; for his want was such as his reuenewes were

nothing aunswerable to his minde, but liued poorely and yet contentedly in meane estate. Fancie seeing fortune frowne, to fill vp the tragedie, presented him with the sight of a young gentlewoman, called Constance, who, being both wife and beautifull, two perswasions sufficient to induce affection, was so narrowly marked of Alcimides, as he thought no obieſt to fit his eie but her person, nor no melodie to please his eare but the found of her modest and graue communication. Snared thus with the consideration of this young gentlewoman, at the first he found waies to proffer hir roses and perfumes, but at the last pilles and hemlock. For the young virgin hearing of the vertuous disposition of Alcimides, and seeing his minde was as well garnished with good qualities as his bodie with proportion, vsed *lex talionis*, and repaied him loue for loue, so farre as his honestie might desire and her honor admitte; in so much that nothing was wanting in the accomplishment of their thoughtes but her fathers consent; who, being moued by Alcimides in the matter, flatly denied, and made this obiection, that he was to[o] poore to make his daughter any sufficient ioynter. Which answere so mazed Alcimides, that in a desperate moode acquainting certaine friends with his purpose, he rigged forth a ship to sea, with full resolution either to retourne rych, or to leaue his loue and him selfe in the boosome of Neptune. Vpon which determination resting, he loosed with his companions from Lyparie, and in manner of mart, made hauock on the coast of Barbarie, so that in short time he became very rich. But insatiate couetise, that like the serpent Hidaspis is euer a thiefe, so haled him to the hope of more rich purchase, that at last he and all his men were taken by the Sarrafins, and

carried away prifoners into Thunes. The news of this mishap, as report must euer be pratling, came flying to the Ile of Lypary, that the ship wherein Alcimides and his soldiours was imbarqued was drowned in the coast of Barbarie. Constance no sooner heard of this cursed strata-geme, but she determined to ende these miseries with death, and that in the sea, that she might imitate Alcy-mides, who was reported to perish in the same element. To the ende, therefore, hir purpose might the more easily be brought to passe, Constance walking downe to the shoare found a little fisher boate readie furnished with mast, sayles and other prouision, floating in the hauen; which Constance espying, taking this for good occasion, she speedely went into the boat, and as well as she could, as the women of that iland are most skilfull in nauigation, haled forth into the maine, and there committed hir selfe to the mercie of the waue and winding, thinking by this meanes to procure soneft fatall ende, sith so many accidents were readie, as death and daunger euerie minute, passed thus two or three dayes alongst the coast, till at last a southeast wynde dryue the ship vpon the shoare of Barbarie. The barke thus beaten vp, there was at that present in the same place a poore woman who made cleane the fishermens nets, which seeing the ship so roughly arriued, thought the marriners had bene a sleepe: to warne them, therefore, of their landing, she went vp the hatches and found none, in so much that seeking further, she found this young gentlewoman fast a sleepe, as one secure and carelesse of hir misfortune; whome the poore fisherwife waking, perceiuing by hir apparell that she was a Christian, demaunded in the Latine tounge of whence she was, and the

cause of hir so straunge imbarking? Constance, risen as it were from a dreame, hearing one speake Latine, thought shee had beene driuen back againe to Lypary, but casting hir eye about, and seeing hir selfe in an vnknown coast, she craued of the woman the name of the countrey; who tolde hir she was in Barbarie, neare a cittie called Sufe; which greatly grieved Constance that hir death was prolonged by such a luklesse aduenture: so that, fearing some dishonour in so barbarous a countrey might befall hir virgins estate, she sat her downe and wept. The poore woman taking pittie of her passions, caried hir home to hir little cottage, and there, as well as she might, so comforted the distressed maide that she tolde hir from point to point the some of this haplesse accident; and grewe so farre in familiaritie, that Constance demaunded of hir what she was? who made aunswere that she was of Trapany, a seruant to certaine fishers, hir name Mawdleyne. Constance seeing she was a Christian, and could speake Latine very perfectly, began to intreate hir that she would, for the loue of their religion and faith, tell her what course she had best take, that she remaine for a time safe without preiudice either of honor or honesty. Mawdleyne, a woman of good and vertuous disposition, told her that there was a Sarrazen widow in the citie, of vertuous life and good conscience, whose house was oft a sanctuary for the distressed: there she durst assure hir selfe she might for a time remaine, till time and opportunitie should better prouide for her estate. Constance, glad of this newes, desired Mawdleyne to fauour hir with the benefit of that seruice; who willing to pleasure her, before two dayes were past, setting all things to hir minde in order, went with Constance to the

widowes house, who, hauing heard before of Mawdleyne of this maide, gaue her verye good intertainment, and as one pittying hir distresse, heard hir sorrow with teares and remorse. Well, Constance thus placed, being in the company of fundry other maides that wrought needle-worke, so applied hir selfe to hir labour, that not only by hir diligence she procured hir mistresse fauour, but by hir courtesie the generall loue and good liking of all hir fellows. Remaining thus quiet, though not satisfied, fortune, willing after so sharpe a catastrophe to induce a comicall conclusion, tempered hir storme with this pleasant calme. Alcymedes lying thus in prison, hauing no hope to recouer his freedom, but looking euerye daye to be condemned perpetuall slaue to the galleys, newes came that a nobleman of great reputation, dignitie and power, had made claime to the kingdome of Thunes as his owne, and ment by the sworde to take it from Martucio that then presentlye possessed it. This report comming to the eares of the prisoners, Alcimedes who knew very well to speake the Barbarian toong, told his keeper that it might please him to bring him to the kings presence, hee would take such order with his grace as hee should in despite of fortune remaine conqueror. The iaylor seeing the request was of importance, told it presentlye to his highnesse, who in great hast sent for Alcimides; who gathering the king and his nobles together, discovered vnto them such a peece of politike seruice, that they all consented to let Alcymedes haue the leading of the vaward, who undertaking the charge, as a man greatly experienced in martiall discipline, carried his men in squadrons and troupes so artificially as his warlike skil did greatly encourage the souldiers. Hauing thus set

his men in arraye, marching forward to meete the enemy, when the battailes were within vew and readye to ioyne, Alcymedes, taking the king by the hand, presented him to the face of all his armie, and then began to incourage them on this manner.

I need not, worthie gentlemen and fouldiers of Barbarie, seeke to incourage you with a long discourse, vnlesse putting oyle in the flame, I should put a spur to a free horse: your former valiant resolutions manifested in manye battailes, the honor whereof still glories your name with renowne, assures me, were the enimie like the sands of the sea, and Mars himselfe opposed against our forces, yet the quarrell good, and our minds armed with inuincible fortitude (the vertue that dareth fortune in hir face) maugre fates and destinies, you shall, as euer you haue done, returne with an honorable conquest. And for that the cause toucheth your king, who counteth himselfe a fellow-partner in your fortunes, see he presents himselfe as the first man in the battaile, and last man in the field, vnlesse death giue him a princelie quittance of his kingdome. Let him be a myrror this day of your magnanimitie; let his actions be your presidents: presse but as far as your generall, and courage, gentlemen! the victory is ours. See how your sorrowfull countrymen, onely animated by the rebellious perswasion of a traitor, stand to receiue us, whose cowardize scarce dare march a foote to meete vs. I see, yea I see, in their very faces, the portrature of feare, and therefore, gentlemen, God and our Right! And with that he put spurs to his horse, and gaue a furious and valiant onfet vpon the enemy.

The king ashamed to performe any lesse then Alcimides

had promised, taking a strong lance in his hand, pulling down his beuier, rusht most furiously vpon the enimie. His souldiers, noting the vnlookt-for courage of their king, followed with such a desperate resolution that the enimie, amazed at the valour of Martucio, who like a lion massacring whom he met, ran without stop through the troupes, they laid downe their weapons without any great slaughter. But Martucio, forgetting they were his natie countrymen and his subjects, still raged, till meeting him that made claime to the crowne in single combat, he slewe him princely in the field. Stayed at last by one of his lordes, who told him the battell was ended by the submission of his subiects, who were ashamed that they had beene so forgetfull of their allegiance, causing the retreat to be founded, he peaceably marched on toward Susa, where putting certaine of the cheefe offenders to the sworde, he sent the rest home in quiet. The victorie ended, the king presently summoned a parliament, where, with the consent of all his commons and nobilitie, hee proclaimed poore and distressed Alcimides Duke of Tunize, and caused him to ride through the cittie with a garland of bayes on his head, and princely robes, in great and sumptuous magnificence. Being thus aduanced, the report thereof came vnto the cares of Constance, who now knowing him aliue and in great authoritie, whome long since she held for dead, she conceiued such inward ioye that she could not but outwardlye commit the sum of hir minde to the gentlewoman with whome she dwelt; who, pittying her complaints, promised as soon as opportunitie would giue her leaue to manifest the matter to Alcimides. Constance, impatient of delays, would not let the old gentlewoman take no rest, till one

morning she went to Alcimides, and told him that a certaine gentlewoman was come from Lippary, who desired to speake with him in secret. Alcimides, courteous as one whome honor had not made proud, thanked the widow for her paines, and went home to her house, where she presented him with the sight of Constance. Alcimides, hearing long before that she was dead, stood amazed at the sudden aduenture, but shee, poore soule, whome loue stunge at the very heart, could not abstaine, but blushing, leapt about his necke, bewraying her ioye in teares.

Alcimides, the most ioyfull man aliue for so happy an encounter, after many sweete imbracings past, demaunded the cause and meanes how she came into Barbarie? who recounting the fore rehearsed discourse, greatly gladded Alcimides for the finding of so trustie and true a freend. Long he staid not but that he reuealed this comicall historie to the king, who, desirous to see the maide, entertained hir with great and princelie courtesie, and with all speed to both their contents, solemnized the mariage; which past, he sent them, according to their calling, riche home to their freends in Lippary.

Delia hauing ended her tale, Perimedes began to take occasion to talke of the inconstancie of Fortune, who one-lye coueted to be counted variable in all her actions; for, quoth he, I tell thee, wife, I haue seene in my time many rich men, who liued secure in the abundance of their wealth, driuen to such extreame pouertie that their superfluitie was not more then then their ensuing want; and many baze peasants by hir flattery be so hoisted vp to the top of her wauering wheele, as they bee potentates and mightie men of the earth: but her fauours are such as they

include misfortune; and when she presents the most comical shewes, then she intends the most balefull and dismall stratagemes, as the instance of Alexander the great may serue for a president, who in twelue yeares making a conquest of the whole world, and so flattered by Fortune as he seemed to holde his fauours in his owne hand, amidst his most glee and greatest glorye was cowardlye poysoned in Babilon. At this Perimedes was readye to enter into a long discourse: his wife Delia told him the night was farre spent, wherevppon taking his wiues motion for a warning, commanding her to *Couure le feu*, the poore smith and his wife went to bed.

The third nights exercise.

The next day, being a solempne day of sacrifice obserued amongst the Ægyptians, Perimedes shutting vp his shop, as one that feared to giue the least occasion of offence, tying his deuotion to the Gods, his obedience to his king, his loue to his neighbours, and his will to the lawe, causing his wyfe to honor the festiuall rytes with her best rayment, him selfe ietting in his holy-day cassocke, went to the temple; where offering vp his oraysons after the Ægyptian manner, the Flamins and Rabins hauing expounded their lawes, the poore Smith and his wife returned home to dinner, where hauing taken such repast as fitted their diet and was agreeable to their poore preparation, Perimedes, to digest his great cheere with a little chat, began in this manner. Noting to day, wife, (quoth he) at the temple, certaine of our great lords of Ægypt, whose beds are framed of Arabian bisse, whose houses stuffed within with plate, and outwardly decked and adorned with such curi-

ous worke of porphurine, as nature in them seemeth to be ouerlaboured with arte: their ports, gliftring like the palace of the Sun, shew to all passengers wonders to be written in the registers of their memories. But wife, when these great potentates of the earth came to discover their inward deuotion at their offertorie, in giuing to the Gods and the poore, I perceiued them miserable, and so corrupted in the conceit of their owne wealth, that I cryed out in my thoughts, these men are poorer then Perimedes. For I tell thee, Delia, this haue I heard of the ancient Caldees, whose bookes were burned with their bones, that he onelye is riche which, abandoning all superfluities, resteth contented with what Fortune hath fauoured him; his estate not pinched with such pouertie but he may liue honestlye and vertuouflye: who, so resolute in this content, maketh not his thoughts and passions subiect to the restlessse desire of gaine. *Is vere habetur diues*; for, wife, the minde is the touchstone of content, and holdeth the ballance that proportioneth quiet or disquiet to kings: for Pharaos, our great prince, is not therefore fortunate, for that he is inuested with the diademe, for his crowne resteth in the lap of Lachesis, and the destinies may depriue him of his dignitie this night. Kings, as they haue crownes, so they haue cares; and in passing vnto pleasure they step vpon thornes, and run ouer a sea of glasse: not, therefore, riche for that they are kings, vnles content with his annuall revenues, and fatisfied with such limits as are left to the Pharaos. Resting thus, he is both a king and rich, in that seated amidst the glories of the world, the fundry obiects of delights drawes not away his eyes, nor as the Sirens with their enchanting melodies, nor golde nor glories can hale

him with anye pleasing forceries from the quiet castell of content: thus minded, Delia, I tell thee, I call him rich, and therefore holde my felfe one of the wealthieft subiects in all Ægipt, in that all my desires haue rested themselues in a peaceable concord. For my estate I desire to be no higher then a smith, as thus spighting fortune by my occupation, hauing my tongs in my hand as a scepter to rule in my shop, and as Mercuries Caduceus to charme the inconstancie of the vaine Goddesse: her greatest frowne can be but want of a little worke, and that I ouerpasse with patience; and if she smile, then begin I to laugh that Fortune is glad to become freends with a poore smith. Now for richesse and treasure I have plentye, in that I wante none, but count my pouertie the verye store-house of abundance.

Delia, hearing hir husband thus solemnlye deliuer such stoicall paradoxes, ioyned issue with him in the same plea, and began to prosecute the matter in this manner. Indeed, husband, quoth she, the minds of men are so fiered with the restles heate of couetize, as they beat out hotter flames then Enceladus dooth from vnder Etna; and are like the serpent Hidaspis, which the more she drinketh, the more she is pinched with thirst, infomuch that they count great gifts little godds, caring not if they may gaine what meanes they vse to get, counting all things honest that are profitable, and thinking gall most sweete if tempered with gold. These men that haue no meane I thinke most miserable, could they with Nimrod build vp Babell, or with Ninus lay the foundation of Babilon: for I tell thee, Perymides, it is not the coine but the conscience, not the coffers stuffed with store, but a mind luld a sleepe with pleasing content that maketh a man rich: for he that defraudeth his neigh-

bor with vnderminding policies, or circumuenteth him with any intricate deceit, exacting vnreasonable taskes and customs, wrapping his freends, as if in Dedalus laborinth, in the quiddities of preiudiciall bargaines, prying into the state of the common treasury, so to indommage the common-wealth for his owne commoditie, gaping as vultures after the testaments of the dead, not ceasing with the rauens to pray on liuelesse carcasses. Such as these, husband (quoth Delia), are not wealthie in that as miserable they want, but are poore in that they leaue no vnlawfull meanes to couet. Then, quoth Perymedes, of these former infered premises we may conclude, that poorely content is better then richlye couetous, which the ancient Romaines auered in their censures; for whether shall we estimate the mony that king Pyrrhus sent to Fabritius, or els the continencie of Fabritius which made deniall of the same, being proffered frankelye by so great a potentat? And did not the answer of Marcus Curius more glory him and his familie with immortall renowne in reiecting the masse of gold sent him by the Samnites, then al the treasure they brought in such pompe to Rome? Was not the liberalitie of Africanus who parted his small farme with his brother Quintus Maximus, registred in Rome as a thing deseruing perpetuall memory, when the great wealth and possessions of Lucius Paulus perisht at his funerales, leauing behinde him no monument, but that the Romans did accompt him poore and miserable. These glorious instances of Roman excellencye prooue, that the true richesse consisteth not in the abundance of wealth, but in the perfect habit of vertue; for richesse is casuall and momentary, subiect to the frowne of fortune, as brittle as glasse, standing vpon a globe that

is neuer permanent ; like to the trees amongst the Natolians, that being couered with flowers in the morning, are tawny and withered before night, resembling the frute in the garden Pesparades, which glistering like gold, toucht presently turneth to ashes : wheras vertue is not accidentall, but sets out her flag of defiance against fortune, opposing himselfe against all the conspyring chances of this world : like Æneas armour not to be pierced with any contrary constellation, so inserted into the minds of men, as neither can perish by shipwracke, which made Bias, escaping from the sea, bouldly and merily to saye in his greatest want, *Omnia mea mecum porto*. And the sonne of Anchises carrying his father on his backe through the flames of Troy, looking behind him, to say : *Animus infractus remanet, et virtus inter hostes et ignes viget*. Then, wife, thou seest they onely are rich that couet nothing, that want nothing, but liuing in content, enrich themselues with vertue : then, Delia, let me boldlye say (and with that the smith set his hands by his side) that I am rich as the proudest in all Ægypt. But now, that I may not be too tedious in my discourse, I will, to temper mirth with melancholy, and to sing the Satyres of Horace to the lute, rehearse thee a pleasant tale tending somewhat to this effect ; and thus the smith began.

Perymedes tale.

Hereby in the confines of Babilon dwelled a duke, called Gradasso, a man whose many yeares had by long experience learned, that to trust fundry men was to seeke for an eele amongst many scorpions ; and therefore hardly granting his right hand to any man, he admitted none into fami-

liaritie vnlesse he might sell his courtesie for profit, and they buie his fauour with repentance. But in priuate and secrete counsailes he vsed no freend but himselfe, fearing to find that in others which he found wanted in his owne cankered stomacke, so skilfull to shadowe his spightfull practises with glosing coulers: as resembling the Pyrite stone, he burned himself when he was thought most colde. To trust anye, he thought, was to despise securitie, and to desire mishap; and therefore, knowne more for his authoritie then by his manners, he carryed his thoughts sealed vp with silence, pained with that which he most liked, namelye, fearefull mistrust. This Gradasso, although despighted by the Gods and nature for placing such odious qualities in such an old carcassee, yet was he fauoured by fortune in possessing large and sumptuous reuenues; and not only aduanced with the tytle of honor and dignities, but also, wherein hee most ioyed, he had one onely child, called Melissa, a ladye so furnished with outward shap of body and inwarde qualities of the minde, so decked with the gifts of nature, and adorned with fundry exquisite vertues, as Ægypt did not so much despise hir father for his vitious disposition, as they did extoll her fame for hir vertuous sycerity. For she, although to hir great greefe, seeing into hir fathers lawlesse actions, how with pretended flatterye, like to the hiena, he had snared some to their vtter mishap, and that vnder coulour of lawe, with exacted extortion he had oppressed the poore, sought not onely, as farre as she durst, to pull her father from such inordinate gaines, but also secretly made recompence to such as hir father vniustly had almost brought to ruine.

This Melissa flourishing thus in happy fame, the old

mifard, her father, casting beyond the moone, knewe by experience, that as the hearbe Spattania no fooner sprowteth aboue the ground but it blometh, and the egges of the lapwing are scarce hatched before the young ones can run, so women, resembling the apples of the tree Pala, are scarce ripe before they desire to be pluckt, and their yeares not able to discerne loue before they be halfe drowned in loue. These considerations moued old Gradaffo to preuent had I wist, with taking opportunity by the forehead; & therefore fought out amongst his bordering neighbours a yoong gentleman, the sonne and heyre of a baron, whose revenues as they were great, so they adioyned fitly to his possessions, which made the doting duke to indeuour to buye him a sonne in lawe answerable to his own opinion: finding his daughter therefore in fyt time and place, he brake with hir in this manner. Thou knowest, Meliffa (quoth he) how carefull I have beene since thy mothers death, not onely secretly to prouide for thy welfare, but openly so to grace thee with exterior fauours, as all Ægypt haue iudged me a father worthie such a childe, and thee for thy obedience deseruing what my liberalitie hath so carefully imparted. In thyne nonage I indeuoured to instruct thee in modestye and manners, by such vertues to seeme gracious in the eye of euerye man; now that thou art growne to ryper yeares, and art famous for the method of thy life through all the countrey, seeing thou art fit for marriage, I haue fought thee such an husband as shal honor thee with his byrth and inrich thee with his possessions; a man though not so exquisitely formed by nature as he maye seeme a second Paris, yet of such wealth as hee may countenance and credite with the aboundance of his reuenues. And to be

breefe, daughter, it is Rosilius sonne to the lord Rosilius, lately deceased. After he had named the man, he ceased to heare his daughters replye. Melissa, noting with a secret mislike hir fathers motion, yet for feare durst not oppose hir selfe against his determination, but told him that as she was his daughter, so she was bound by the law of nature to obeye him as her father ; and his will should be to hir as a law, which by no meanes she dared to infringe. This answer pleased the old couetous duke, that with as conuenient speed as might be, he brake the matter to Rosilius, who hauing no more wyt then hee well could occupye, noting how faire a lady he should possesse, condescended with great thanks to the dukes motion ; and therevpon, frequenting the house of Gradasso, began after his homely fashions to court the young lady Melissa, as fit to woe so braue a gentlewoman, as Pan to be sent from Troye in ambassage to Helena ; well, these two discords of descanting to make a concord.

It fortun'd that a gentleman, next neighbour to the duke, had a young sonne, called Bradamant, a man so sufficiently graced with externall fauours of nature to beautifie his body, and with inward quallities and vertues to aduance his minde, as he was generally liked and loued of all the country. This young gentleman, passing by the court of Gradasso, espied Melissa looking out of a window : Bradamant, amazed at the sight of such a heauenly creature, stood a long while astonish'd at her excellent beautie, in so much that Melissa, casting her eye aside, espyed him, and with that shut the casements, which somewhat daunted the minde of the young gentleman to be so sodenly depriued of that obiect which so greatly pleased his eyes ; but

taking this her modest discourtesie in good part, he passed forward to take a vew of his fathers grounds, where, as he sollemnly and solitarily walked, he felt in his minde a sparkling heate of affection, which he tooke as a toye of youth, rather to be laught at for the sudden passion, then to be preuented for any ensuing danger. As thus he rested a little perplexed, but not greatlye pained, Cupid, that grudged to loose such a nouice, hauing his winges plumed with times feathers least hee might let slip occasion, seeing this young gentleman at discouert, thought to strike while the iron was hot; and so drew a boulte to the head, and stroke Bradamant at the very harte, which pierced so deepe that no phyicke could cure: for the fame of Meliffaes life began to allure him; the report which all Ægypt made of her courtesie was a chaine to intangle hys freedome; hir honour, byrth, parentage, and incomparable beautie, gaue such fierce assaults to his perplexed fancie, as no defense of reason was able to withstand those violent impreffions.

Bradamant, seeing himselfe pained with these vnacquainted fits, was driuen into a quandary, whether he should valiantly resist the enchanting tunes of Cupids forcerye, and so stand to the chance whatsoever the mayne were, or els yeelde to the alluring call of beawtye, and so spend his youth in seeking and suing for doubtfull though desired fauours. Tossed a while in these contrary thoughts, and pinched with the consideration of his owne estate, he began to think that to fixe his fancie vpon Melissa was with the yoong griphons to pecke against the stars, and with the woolues to barke against the moone, seeing the basenesse of his birth, and such a rich riuall as Rosilius was, would greatly preiudice his intended fute. These considerations began somewhat to repress his doting fancies; but Cupid,

not willing to take so slender a repulse, thought straight to race out those despairing thoughts with the comfortable conferues of hope, and to draw Bradamant out of the labyrinth of distrustful feare with the assured possibilities of atchieuing his enterprife. He, therefore, began to incourage his champion with these plawfible coniectures: that Melissa was a woman, and therefore to be woone, if beautiful, with praises, if coye, with praier; if proud, with gifts, if couetous, with promises; to conclude, that as there is no stone so hard which cannot be cut, no hawke so rammage that cannot be manned, no tygre so fierce which cannot be tamed, so there is no woman so infected with the bitter passion of selfe-will, none so spotted with the staine of hellish crueltie, nor so wedded vnto wilfull frowardnesse, but they may be drawne to the lure by some of the forenamed practises. Bradamant, pricked forward with these pithie perswasions, and yet driuen backe with the feare of some haplesse deniall, stood diuersly perplexed, whether he should with a momentary content sue after losse, or with a long disquiet seeke after gaine. Remaining awhile in these doubts, halfe franticke with such vnaccustomed fits, he fell into these passionate complaints.

Oh, Bradamant! how art thou diuersly perplexed, driuen either to purchase haplesse content with fading pleasures, or to gaine a happy disquiet with ensuing profits? If thou choose the first, thou art like to repent at the last; if the second, sure, with Hercules, after painefull labours, to obtaine fame and quiet. The Caspians, fearing to be stifled with sweete sauours, weare in their bosomes bands of hemlocke: the people Pharusij, doubting to surfet with drinking the iuice of liquorice, preuent such perrils with chewing

rewbarbe. It is better to be pained with the sting of a snake and recouer, then be tickled with the venime of tarantula, and dye laughing. Hard, yea, hard it is, Bradamant, to ride on Seianus horse for his beauty, and then perish, or to gaine the golde of Thaleffa with assured mishap. Better it is for a time, with sorrow, to preuent dangers, then to buye fading pleasures with repentance. Why, Bradamant, what cause shalt thou haue to repent? Is paine alwayes a companion to pleasure? is Danger the hand-maide to Loue? is Fancye neuer painted but treading vpon thornes? Yes, no doubt, as Cupid hath arrowes that do pierce, so they make sweete wounds. Venus, I grant, hath a wrinckle in her brow, but two dimples in her cheekes: she frownes not vpon them that sacrifice at Paphos, but paines such as despise hir deitye. Loue, Bradamant! why doest thou loue? yea, alas! and therefore vnhappy because in loue,—a passion so unfit for thy yoong yeares; as if thou yeeld to Cupid's allurements, thou shalt haue cause either to curse the Destinies for appointing him a god, or accuse the gods for creating thee a man: for loue, whatsoeuer the lucke be, is alwaies tempered with losse. If thou winne, thy gaines shall be like theirs who buye hony mixed with gall; the sweetnesse not halfe so much pleasing the taste, as the bitternesse infecteth the stomacke. Parrhasius, drawing the counterfeit of Loue, painteth hir tickling youth on the left side with a feather, and stinging him on the right with a scorpion; meaning that they which are sotted with the forceries of Cupid, reape for a dram of golde a pound of drosse, and for a pinte of pure oyle, a whole tun of infectious poison, being a fading pleasure mixed with bitter passions, and a miserye

tempered with a few momentary delights. It is for youth, Bradamant, to spend their flourishing yeares in vertues, not in vanities; to delight in hard armours, not in delicate and effeminate amours; not to dallye in the chamber with Paris, but to march in the field with Hector; to wish they could loue, not to repent they haue loued. Hercules wunne his fame, not with recounting his lawlesse and licentious loues, but by atchieuing strange and inuincible labours; the one winning him endlesse renowne, the other vntimely death. Seeke, then, to bridle fancie with reason, and to restraints doting affections with due counsaile: quench the flame of appetite with wisdom, and, reaching at honour, spurne at beautie: so mayst thou say, Venus flames are but flashes, and call Cupid a despised boye, not a redoubted god.

Bradamant, thinking thus with blaspheming curses to shake of[f] fancies shackles, went out of his chamber to sport himselfe with his companions, where he passed away the day in playing at chefts; but although he gaue the checke, he was faine at last to take the mate: for Venus, hearing with what despightfull tearmes he abused her deity, thought, seeing he despised loue, to make him yeeld vnto loue, and with panting sighes to craue pardon, where with bitter speeches he had railed: she, therefore, seeing he began to make a rampire against fancie, thought to giue a fresh assault to his halfe defended fortresse, and to send Desire as a herald to make the challenge, that Beautie, as a champion, might performe the charge. Which doone, Bradamant, willing to withstand hir power, passed three or foure daies in perplexed passions, counting loue as a toye, which, being taken in a minute, might be left of at a

moment. But he fond as the Abenstone, once kindled, can neuer be quenched, as the griffin, if he once soare into the ayre, will neuer come downe without his praye; so if Venus giue the assault, it is vnpossible to escape without facking: if loue displaye her flag, she neuer returnes without victorie; which forced Bradamant to present them with praiers, whome he had plagued with curses, and where he had shed bloud, there to offer the sacrifice. The remembrance of Meliffaes beautie so fiered his affections, that as the flye Pyrulus cannot liue out of the flame, nor the bird Trochilus keepe from the infectious crocodile, so vnles he might enioy what he feared to possesse, no meanes but death could cure his malady. Bradamant, pining a long while in these doubtfull thoughts, began once againe to debate with himselfe, but all in vaine; yet mauger his owne mind, he burst forth into these speeches.

Alas, poore Bradamant! thou reachest at that with thy hand which thy hart would faine refuse, playing with the byrde Ibis which hateth serpents yet feedeth on their eggs. Consider, Bradamant, thou art the sonne of a poore gentleman, and she the daughter of a mighty duke; the disdaine of thy parentage, thy liuing, thy patrimonie, is a sufficient cooling to thee: thinke not eagles will catch at flies, or such mightye potentates stoope to such poore peasants. The bull and the hiena cannot be fed together in one stall; the elephant eateth not where the mouse hath crept; the eagle and the doue pearke not on one branche: these brute beasts moued only by fence, thou a man, and not to be perswaded by reason. Cease then, Bradamant, to loue her who soares so far aboue thy reach, as looke at hir thou maist, but obtaine her thou canst not: play like the tree

Citizus, that suffereth no flye to light vpon his flower: let thy mind be like Hercules temple, whereinto no dog can enter: suffer not loue to scale the forte wherein freedome hath taken charge; so shalt thou both escape ensuing dangers, and prooue thy selfe more wise then amorous. Ah, Bradamant! what, dooest thou meane to measure the heauens with a line, or to furrow the seas with a plough? seekest thou to extinguish loue by force, or to preuent fancie by counsell? doost thou meane to quench fire with a sworde, or to stop the winde with a feather? Thou knowest loue is to be feared of men, because honoured of the Gods: Jupiter could not resist fancye, nor Apollo withstand affection, they Gods and yet in loue, thou a man and appointed to loue. It is an impressiō, Bradamant, not to be suppressed by wisdom, because not to bee comprehended by reason; without lawe, and therefore must needs bee aboue all lawe: striue not then against the streame, feed not with the deare against the winde, seeke not to appease Venus with flanders, but with sacrifice. Melissa is beautifull and vertuous, to be wunne with intreatie, if thou feare not to attempt: what though Gradasso frowne, may not she fauour; he stifled with couetise, and therefore must hate; she stirred by Venus, and therefore must loue: if Melissa like passe not, if he lowre; yea let both your parents mislike, so you two rest in contented quiet. Bradamant had no sooner vttered these words, but he felt his minde halfe eased with flattering himselfe thus in his follies, so that from doubting if he might loue, he fell to deuising how to obtaine his loue. Resting thus diuersly passionate, Melissa, of the contrarye part, began greatlye to affect young Bradamant, and though his meane byrthe,

his parentage, and lyuing, did diffwade her from liking so base a youth, yet a restlesse desire, a secret idea and contemplation of his vertues and beautye, made hir thinke if Gradaffo would graunt, she could prefer Bradamant before Refilius; so that hindred in a dylemma, she began thus doubtfully to debate with hir selfe.

Oh! vnhappy Melissa, whose minde is payned with vnacquainted passions, and whose head is troubled with vnequall thoughts, shall thy virgins state be stained with fond desires, or thy young yeares darkened with Cupids shadowes? Tis fit for thee, Melissa, to spend thy youth in laboures not in loues, to pace sollemnly after Vesta, not to gad wantonly after Venus: maides must haue deniall in their mouth and disdayne in their harts, so shall they safelye remaine free, and securely despise fancie. Diana is painted kissing Vertue, and spotting Beauties face with a pensell: virgins must delight in ancient counsailes, not amorous conceits, least in smelling vpon sweete violets, they stumble on bitter rue. Truth, Melissa; thou giuest good precepts if thou canst follow thine owne principle; thou art perswaded by Bradamant to loue, but take heede of such balefull allurements: arme thy selfe against his charming desire with a chaste disdaine, so shalt thou be sure, as he which weareth lawrell cannot be hurte with lightning, nor he that carieth the pen of an eagle perish with thunder, so shall neither loue nor fancie paine thee with haplesse passions. Thinke this; Bradamant is a man, and therefore inconstant; and as he sayth a louer, and therefore a flatterer, as fickle as the woolues of Syria, which forget their praye ere they be halfe satisfied; and as dissembling as Iupiter, who feedeth Semele for a while with nectar, and then killeth hir with fire.

Sith then, Melissa, to loue is to loose, feare not Venus as a goddesse, but despise her as a wanton; intreate not Cupid with prayers, but with curses; tell Fancie thou wilt reiect hir as a vassall, not regard hir as a vertue: for Bradamant, raile at him as a peasant to[o] lowe for thy passions: in steed of courtesie, present him with Medæas enchanted casket. Dooth Bradamant loue Melissa? No, he hateth Melissa; he faineth loue to procure thy losse, he flattereth to trye thy follie, and if he find thee to fond, he will bring thee a sleepe with melodie, and then strike of thy head with Mercurie. Oh, Melissa! condemne not Bradamant without cause; if thou meanest not to loue him, delight not to lacke him, proffer him not netles sith he presents thee with roses: if he yeeld the honie, rub not his hiue with gall; answere him freendly, though thou straine courtesie to flatter, for sweete promises please more then sower gifts, and pleasant potions are better taken though infectious, then bitter pils though most wholesome: and know this, Melissa, that the flame of the hill Chymera is to be quenched with haye, not with water; the mountaine in Harpasa to be remooued with ones finger, not with the whole strength; and loue to be driuen out with reason, not to bee thrust out with force, least in striuing against Venus she play the woman, and seeke to reuenge.

Melissa had no sooner vttered these wordes, but going into her closet she passed awaye the time two or three dayes perplexed: her sweete loue Rosilius could not, with all his clownish courting, driue hir from hir dumpes, but still all her thoughts and imaginations were fixed on the wytte and personage of yoong Bradamant, so that both the louers fought by walking in the woods to meete there to discouer

those fiery passions, which secretly smothered within their breasts. Bradamant, knowing the course that his love used to keepe, taking his lute in his hand, repaired to a ground whether Melissa presently resorted, and seeing the faint whom in heart she did reverence stealing secretly amidst the thicket, she determined to heare some part of his passions. Bradamant, full of melancholy dumps, tuning his lute, began to warble out this madrigale :

*The swans, whose pens as white as iuory,
Eclipsing fayre Endymions siluer-loue,
Floting like snowe downe by the banckes of Po,
Nere tund their notes, like Leda once forlorne,
With more dispairing sortes of madrigales,
Then I whome wanton loue hath with his gad,
Prickt to the courte of deepe and restlesse thoughts.
The frolike yoongsters Bacchus liquor mads
Run not about the wood of Theffaly,
With more inchaunted fits of lunacy,
Then I whome loue, whome sweete and bitter loue,
Fiers infects with sundry passions ;
Now lorne with liking ouermuch my loue,
Frozen with fearing, if I step to far ;
Fired with gazing at such glymmering stars,
As stealing light from Phebus brightest rayes,
Sparkles and sets a flame within my brest.
Rest, restlesse loue, fond baby, be content :
Child, hold thy darts within thy quiuier close,
And if thou wilt be rouing with thy bowe,
Ayme at those hearts that may attend on loue,
Let countrey fwaines, and filly fwads be still.
To court, yoong wag, and wanton there thy fill.*

After that Bradamant had recorded this dittie, he heard a great rufhling in the bufhes, wherevpon defirous to fee what it might be, he efpyed Meliffa, at whose fight he flood fo amazed, as if with Medufaes head he had beene turned to a ftone. The lady, as much agaft, hauing a coofin of hers with hir called Angelica, vttered not a word; but the louers, made mute with loue, flood as perfons in a trance, till Bradamant difcourfing his loues, and making open his priuie paffions, fell downe at her feete, and craued mercie. The ladye, as deeply pained as he was paffionate, could not conceale fire in the ftrow, nor difsemble loue in her lookes, but flatlye tolde him that both the proportions of his bodye and the vertues of hys minde had made fuch a conquest in her affections, that, were it not [for] the crabbed and couetous difpofition of the duke, fhe could find in her heart to make him hir onely paramour. But hir father Gradafo had prouided her a mariage whome fhe durft not refufe, a man able with his wealth to maintaine hir, with his parentage to credit hir, and that his poffeffions were great gifts to content, and little gods to command euen Vefta her felfe to leaue hir virginie: but, quoth fhe, how I reft discontent with the match, I appeale to the Gods and myne owne confcience.

Bradamant hearing her fo willing to be wonne, tolde her that pollicies in loue were not deceipts, but wifdome; that to difsemble in affection was to offer Venus her rights; and therefore if her fancy were fuch as fhe did proteft, it were eafie to inioye the fruition of their loues. Not fo, quoth Meliffa, for rather had I marrye Rofilius, and fo wed my felfe to continuall discontent and repentance, then by being lofe in my loues and wanton in my thoughts, difobeying my fathers com-

maund, to disparage mine honour and become a by-word throughout all Aegipt; for ladyes honors are like white lawnes, which soone are stayned with euerye mole. Men in their loues haue liberties, that soare they neuer so high nor stoope they neuer so lowe, yet their choice is little noted; but women are more glorious obiects, and therefore haue all mens eyes attentiuely bent vpon them: yet (quoth she) how I mislyke of my fathers commaund, and how male-content I am, lend me your lute, and you shall heare my opinion. Bradamant, glad that his mistresse would vouchsafe to grace him with a song, deliuered hir the instrument, wherevpon Meliffa, beyng verie skilfull, warbled out this dittye:

*Obscure and darke is all the gloomie aire,
The curtaine of the night is ouerspred;
The sylent mistresse of the lowest spheare,
Puts on her sable coulored vale and lower[s].
Nor star nor milkewhite cyrcle of the skye
Appeares where discontent doth hold her lodge:
She sits shrind in a cannapie of clouds,
Whose massie darkenesse mazeth euery sense.
Wan is her lookes, her cheekes of azure hue,
Hir haires as Gorgons foule retorting snakes;
Enuie the glasse wherein the hag doth gaze,
Restlesse the clocke that chimes hir fast a sleepe,
Disquiet thoughts the minuts of her watch.
Forth from her caue the fiend full oft dooth flie:
To kings she goes, and troubles them with crownes,
Setting those high aspiring brands on fire,
That flame from earth vnto the seate of Foue:*

*To such as Midas, men that dote on wealth,
And rent the bowels of the middle earth
For coine; who gape, as did faire Danae,
For showers of gold: their discontent in blacke,
Throwes forth the viols of her restlesse cares:
To such as sit at Paphos for releefe,
And offer Venus manie solemne vowes,
To such as Hymen, in his saffron robe,
Hath knit a Gordion knot of passions.
To these, to all, parting the glomie aire,
Black discontent doth make hir bad repaire.*

No sooner had Melifsa ended this sonnet, but for feare the two louers, though most vnwilling, parted, determining when occasion would serue, they would meete againe. Yet was not their meeting so in secret but old Gradasso knew of their conference: wherevpon he not onely blamed his daughter, and in bitter and railing tearmes misused the father of Bradamant, but fought with all possible speed to dispatch the marriage, Melifsa, passing the dayes in melancholie, and the night in passionate dumpes, that her nuptials were so nye. Though men determine the Gods doo dispose, and oft times many things fall out betweene the cup and the lip; for the day being appointed, certaine tenants, as well gentlemen as others, that were vnder the duke, went to Pharaos with generall complaints of his couetous and barbarous crueltye. Pharaos, whose thoughts aimed at excessiue desire of coine, tooke oportunitie by the hand, and thought by these complaints to possesse himselfe of all his possessions and treasure: wherevpon he sent for the duke and Rosilius, and after he had heard the complaints,

he banisht him, and Rosilius his sonne in lawe, with his daughter Melissa, out of all the confines of Aegipt. Gradasso, willing to answer to his accusers, could not be suffered by the king to make any replye, but within three dayes they must depart; which so danted the duke and yoong Rosilius, that they stood like those men that Perseus turned to stones; and poore Melissa sorrowing at the hard censure of the king, and weeping at the mishap of hir father, cryed out against fortune that was so fickle, and the starres that had so badlye dealt in the configuration of their natiuitie, seeing hir sorrow with teares, and her fortunes with wailings. Well, to be breefe, the day came of their departure: the duke with Rosilius and Melissa were imbarcked in a little ship, and so transported into Libia; where when they arriued, the duke, for that he had small acquaintance or none in the countrie, liued obscurely and in poore estate; the clowne Rosilius, hauing no quallities of the mind, onely at home relying vpon his reuenues, and now abroad driuen to fatisfie his thirst with his hands, and to releue his hunger with applying himselfe to any seruile kind of drudgerie. Melissa she got hir selfe into the seruice of a rich merchant, where with such courtesie she behaued hir selfe, that she was generally liked of all the houshold.

While thus these three pilgrims liued in this penance, Bradamant, hearing of this straunge accident, fell into diuers and fundry perplexed passions. First, the feruent affection he bare vnto Melissa tolde him that fortune may not part louers, nor the inconstant constellation of the planets disseuer that which fancye had vnited with such a bande; that the vowes of Venus are not to be vio-

lated; that loue must resemble a cyrcle, whose motion neuer ceaseth in that rounde: therefore he was bound by loue and dutie to sayle after them into Lybia, and there to giue what releefe he could to these exiles. But to these resolutions came strange and contrary motions: first, the forsaking of his father whome he most reuerently honoured; secondly, his freends whome in all duty he did reuerence; but that which pained him most was to leaue Egypt his countrey, which hee loued more then his life, in so much that, with Vlisses hee counted the smoake of Ithaca sweeter then the fiers of Troie. These considerations drewe him from his resolution of departure, so that he staid for two or three daies passionate in Ægypt; but loue that is restless suffred him to take no rest, but in his dreames presented him with the shape of Melisa, and waking fancie set so playnely the idea of her person and perfection before his eyes, that, as one tormented with a second hell, neither respecting father, country, nor friends, as soone as wynde and weather did serue, rigging a bonny bark to the sea, he passed into Libia. Where he was no sooner arriued, but straight hee highed him to the court, where then Sacrapant, the king of that land, kept his palace royall. Bradamant, liuing there for a space as a courtier, won such fauour for his excellent wit and rare qualities, that the king held him as one of his cheefe gentlemen, and promoted him great giftes; in so much that who but Bradamant in all the court of Libia flowrisht thus in great credit. He sought about to finde out the duke and his daughter. Him on a day, as he passed downe to the sea cliffes, he found gathering of cockles, professing the state of a fisher-man; with whom, after he had parled a little, he bewrayed what he was, and in what estimation he was with

Sacrapant. The duke, glad to see one of his countrymen and neighbours in so strange a land, embraced him; to whom Bradamant briefly discoursed his mynde as concerning the imperfections of Rosilius, how his wealth onely respected, whereof now he was deprieved, he was a mere peasant and slave of nature, not able, being exiled, though noble borne, to shew any sparks of honor: seeing then the duke was tyed to extremities, he would now marry his daughter, and make her live, as her calling deserved, in the court. Gradasso no sooner heard his minde, but he granted to his motion, so that Bradamant breaking the matter to the king Sacrapant with all his lordes, seeing the damzell so faire, condescended, and with great pompe solemnized the nuptials. Where Bradamant mainteyned his wyfe and his father very richly, vntill Pharaos dying, the duke, Bradamant, and his wyfe Melissa, with the clownish lord Rosilius, passed home to their former possessions.

Perimedes hauing tolde his tale, he burst forth into these speeches. Thou seest, Delia, how farre wit is preferred before wealth, and in what estimation the qualities of the mynde are in respect of worldly possessions. Archimedes hauing suffered shipwrack on the sea, being cast on shoare, all the rest of the passengers sorrowing because their goods were lost, he, espying certaine geometricall characters, merrily and cheerefully sayd vnto them, Feare not, fellow-mates in misfortune, for I see the steps of men, and so passed; but when hee was known among them, the philosophers releued them all. Least Perimedes should haue gone forward in his discourse, one of his neighbours came in to beare him company, and so hee ceased from his prattle.

If the rest of their discourse happen into my hands,
then, Gentlemen, looke for newes.

William Bubb, *Gentleman*, to his
freend the Author.

AFTER that, freend Robin, you had finished Perymedes, and vouchsafed to commit it to my vewe, liking the worke, and so much the rather for that you bestowed the Dedication on my verye good freind Maister Geruis Clifton, whose deserts merit it (and one of more worth) when your labour shall be imploied more seriouſlie, the laſt ſheete hanging in the preſſe, comming into your ſtudie, I found in your deſke certaine ſonets, fained to be written by the Chaldees, what time the poore Smith and his wife liued ſo contentedlye; which ſhee hauing kept as iewels in her cheſt, and you as relikes in your chamber, not letting any but your familiars to peruſe them, for that you feared to diſcouer your little ſkill in verſe: theſe ſonets, for that they fit my humour, and will content others, or els my iudgement failes, I charge thee, by that familiar conuerſing that hath paſt betweene vs, that thou annex them to the ende of this pamphlet, which if you grant, we ſtill reſt as we haue beene: if not, *Actum eſt de amicitia*, and ſo farewell.

Thine, WILLIAM BUBB.

The Author.

Being, gentlemen, thus ſtriſtly coniured by mine eſpeciall good freend, I dare not but rather hazard my credit on your courteſies then looſe, for ſo ſmall a triſle, his freendſhip whome I haue euer found as faithfull as familiar, and ſo familiar

as can come within the compasse of amitie: then, I humbly intreate, if my verses be harhe, or want the grace that poems should haue, that you will ouershadow them with your fauours; and pardon all, the rather for that I present them vpon constraint: if in this your courtesies shall freend me, I will either labour to haue better skill in poetrie, or els sweare neuer to write anye more; and so I hartely bid you farewell.

R. G.

WHEN the Caldees ruled in Aegypt, as the Gimnosophists did in India, and the Sophi in Greece, they vsed to endeuor, as far as their graue counsailes could preuaile, to suppress all wanton affections, respecting not the degrees of persons to whome they deliuered their satyricall exhortations: it chanced, therefore, that Psamnetichus yoongest sonne, addicted to[o] much to wanton desires, and to sot himselfe in the beautie of women, one of the Caldees, hauing an insight into his lasciuious lyfe, perswaded him to desist from such fading pleasures, whose momentarye delights did breede lasting reproche and infamie. The yoong prince, making light account of his words, went into his studye, and writ him an answer, sonnet-wise, to this effect:

I am but yoong, and may be wanton yet.

In Cypres sat fayre Venus by a fount,
 Wanton Adonis toying on her knee,
 She kist the wag, her darling of accompt:
 The boie gan blush, which when his loue see,
 She smild and told him loue might challenge debt,
 And he was yoong and might be wanton yet.

The boy waxt bold, fiered by fond desire,
That woe he could, and court hir with conceipt,
Reason spied this, and sought to quench the fire
With cold disdaine; but wily Adon straight
Cherd vp the flame and faide, good fir, what let?
I am but young, and may be wanton yet.

Reason replied that Beawty was a bane
To such as feed their fancy with fond loue,
That when sweete youth with lust is ouertane,
It rues in age: this could not Adon moue,
For Venus taught him still this rest to set
That he was young, and might be wanton yet.

Where Venus strikes with beauty to the quick,
It litle vayles fage Reason to reply.
Few are the cares for such as are loue-ficke
But loue: then though I wanton it awry
And play the wag, from Adon this I get,
I am but young, and may be wanton yet.

After the young prince had ended his sonnet, and gyuen
it, as it were in derysion, to the Caldee, the olde man,
willing to gyue him a fop of the same sawce, called to-
gether his wyts, and refelled his reason thus, after his
owne methode:

The Syren Venus nourist in hir lap
Faire Adon, swearing whiles he was a youth
He might be wanton: note his after-hap,
The guerdon that such lawlesse lust ensueth:

So long he followed flattering Venus lore,
Till, feely lad, he perisht by a bore.

Mars in his youth did court this lusty dame;
He wooon hir loue, what might his fancy let?
He was but young: at last vnto his shame
Vulcan intrapt them flily in a net,
And call'd the Gods to witnesse as a truth,
A leachers fault was not excus'd by youth.

If crooked age accounteth youth his spring,
The spring, the fayrest season of the yeare,
Enricht with flowers and sweetes, and many a thing
That fayre and gorgeous to the eyes appeare,
It fits that youth the spring of man should be,
Richt with such flowers as vertue yeeldeth thee.

After that the olde Caldee had penned this poeme, hee presented it to the young prince, but how it tooke effect I litle know, and leaue you to suppose; but this I am sure, Delia kept it in hir casket as a relick, and therefore as I had it I present it.

This sonnet had no name prefixed, so that I knowe not whose inuention it was; but Delia held it more deere then all the rest, so that before shee drew it out off hir boxe shee prayfed it with many protestations; but as the argument may inferre coniecture, it was doone by a louer whose mistress was hard-hearted, which hee dyscouered metaphorically and myldly, thus:

Faire is my loue for Aprill in her face,
Hir louely brefts September claimes his part,

And lordly July in her eyes takes place,
But colde December dwelleth in her heart :
 Blest be the months that sets my thoughts on fire,
 Accurst that month that hindreth my desire.

Like Phœbus fire, so sparkles both her eies,
As ayre perfumde with amber is her breath ;
Like swelling waues her louely teates do rise,
As earth hir heart, cold, dateth me to death.
 Aye me, poore man, that on the earth do liue,
 When vnkind earth, death, and dispaire doth giue.

In pompe sits Mercie seated in hir face,
Loue twixt her brefts his trophees dooth imprint ;
Her eyes shines fauour, courtesie, and grace :
But touch her heart, ah ! that is framd of flint ;
 That fore my haruest in the grasse beares graine,
 The rock twill weare, washt with a winters raine.

This read ouer, she clapt it into her casket, and brought out an old rustie paper ; and with that she smyled on her husband, and spake to her neighbour fitting by : I will tell you, gossip, (quoth she) as preciselye as my husband fits, hee hath beene a wag, but nowe age hath pluckt out all his coltes teeth ; for when hee and I made loue one to another, hee got a learned clarke to write this dittie, subtilly contriued as though it had beene betweene sheepheards, but he ment it of me and himselfe. Perymedes laught at this, and so the sonnet was read, thus :

Phillis kept sheepe along the westerne plaines,
And Coridon did feed his flocks hard by :

This shepheard was the flower of all the fwaines,
That trac'd the downes of fruitfull Theffalie;
And Phillis, that did far her flocks surpasse
In filuer hue, was thought a bonny lasse.

A bonny lasse, quaint in her country tire,
Was louely Phillis; Coridon swore so:
Her locks, her lookes, did set the fwaine on fire,
He left his lambes, and he began to woe.
He lookt, he fitht, he courted with a kisse:
No better could the filly fwad then this.

He little knew to paint a tale of loue,
Sheepheards can fancie, but they cannot faye:
Phillis gan smile, and wily thought to proue,
What vncouth greefe poore Coridon did paie.
She askt him how his flocks or he did fare?
Yet penfue thus his fighes did tell his care.

The shepheard blusht when Phillis questioned so,
And swore by Pan it was not for his flocke[s];
Tis loue, faire Phillis, breedeth all this woe;
My thoughts are trapt within thy louely locks:
Thine eye hath pearst, thy face hath set on fire.
Faire Phillis kindleth Coridons desire.

Can shepheardes loue? said Phillis to the fwaine:
Such faints as Phillis, Coridon replied.
Men when they lust can many fancies faine,
Said Phillis: this not Coridon denied,
That lust had lies; but loue, quoth he, fayes truth:
Thy shepheard loues, then, Phillis, what ensueth?

Phillis was won : she blusht and hung the head,
The swaine stept to, and cher'd hir with a kisse ;
With faith, with troth, they stroke the matter dead :
So vsed they when men thought not amisse.

This loue begun and ended both in one ;
Phillis was loued, and she lik't Corydon.

And thus, gentlemen, at my freends request, I haue put
in print those bad sonnets ; which otherwise I had resolued
to haue made obscure, like the pictures that Phidias drew
in his prentize-hood, which hee paynted in the night and
blotted out in the day. If they passe but with silence, how
foeuer you smyle at them secretly, I care not : if they bee
so ill that you cannot but murmur openly at such trash,
I runne to the last clause of my freends letter : doo this :
Aut actum de amicitia. And so I bid you farewell.

FINIS.

some true manifestation made of these things ; but bee it farre from me to be the author thereof, as verie unfit to deliver my censure of any matter publike, and most unwilling to have my weaknes discovered in private. And so doo leave you to the happie successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestlie wishing that there may bee some better acceptance made of the fruites of your studies, than there hath been of our hazards in the warres. From London the 30 of August. 1589.

FINIS.

Errors in sundrie names must thus be read.

Pag 16, lin. 31, reade *Santa Cruz* ; lin. 23 reade at *Madrid*. Pag 17, lin. 1, reade at *Madrid* ; lin. 2, reade Capt. Manço. Pag 21, lin. 12, reade Cap. *Sydenham*. Pag 29, lin. 8, reade at *Loriña* ; lin. 34-35 reade *los Cavalleros*. Pag 34, lin. 6, reade *Sant Vués*. Pag 45, lin. 29-31 read del Tercio de Napoles, lin. 34, reade Capt. Sauban.

A
QVIP FOR AN VP-
start Courtier:

OR,

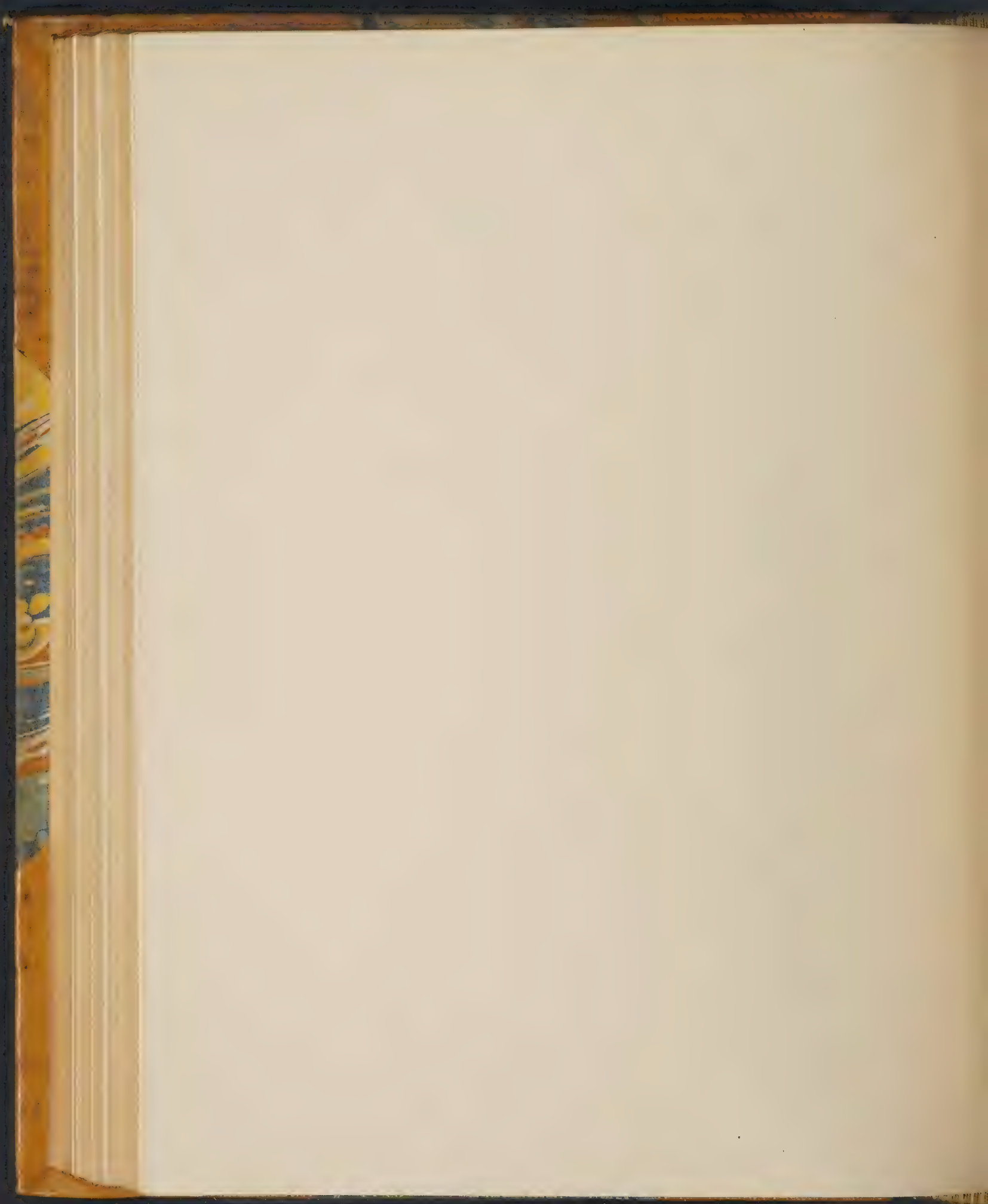
A quaint dispute between Veluet-
breeches and Cloth-breeches.

*Wherein is plainely set downe the disorders in all
Estates and Trades.*



LONDON

Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, and are to bee sold at his
shop at Poules chayne. 1592.

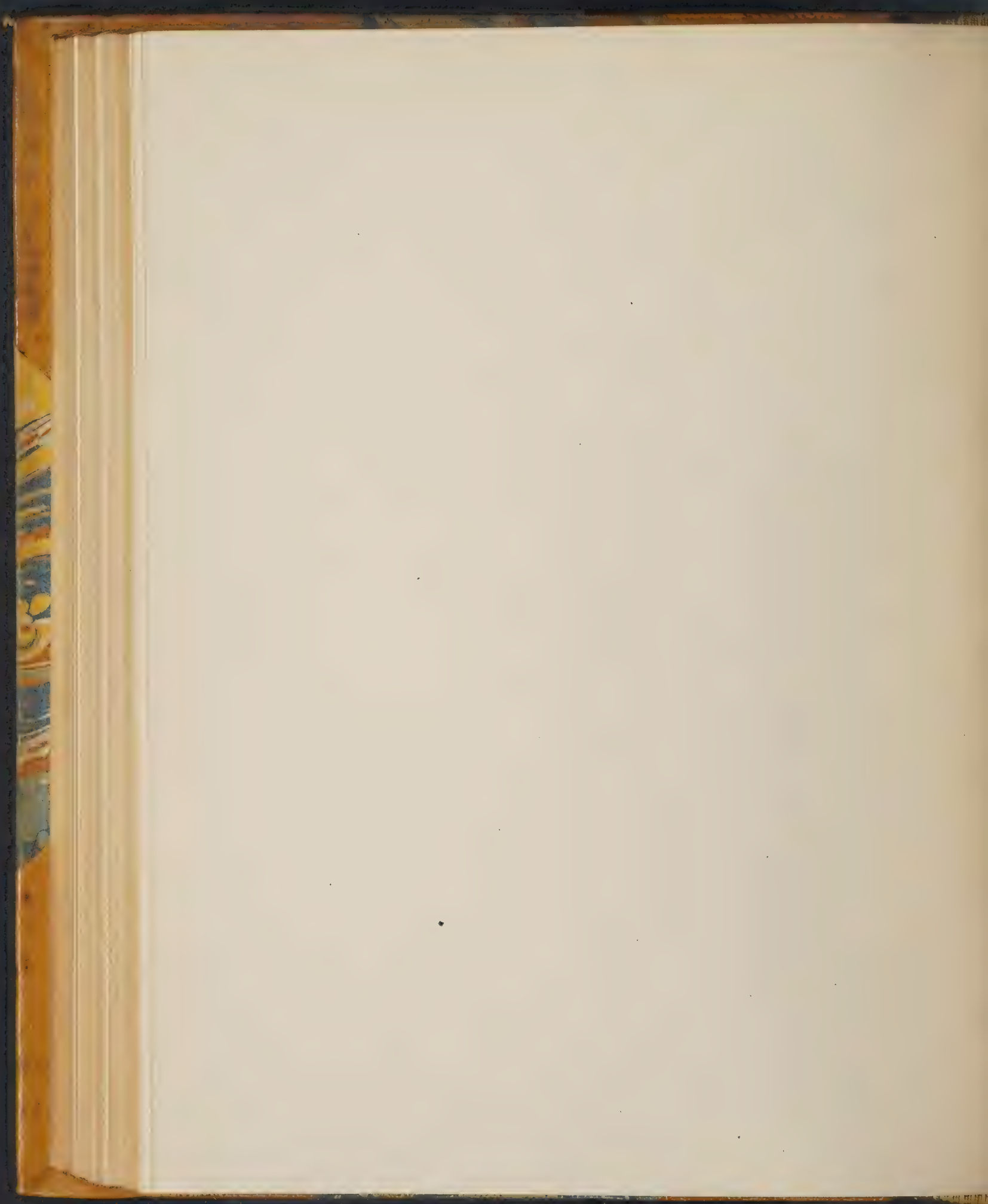


INTRODUCTION.

It was the Editor's intention to have written a short historical Introduction to the ensuing Reprint, but severe illness has prevented the execution of his purpose, and he can now do little more than refer the reader to the description of the original tract in *Bibl. Account*, vol. i, p. 257. The fruitless expedition to which the pamphlet relates, is, of course, mentioned by Camden, Stowe (*Annals* 1605, p. 1263), and others ; but the details, on the authority of an eye-witness and partaker in the enterprise, are here alone furnished, and they will be found highly interesting. They have been in the possession of the editor for upwards of forty years, and during that period neither he nor any of his friends have met with a trace of a second copy of the narrative. It is especially worthy of notice from the frequent mention it makes of the deeds and darings of such men as the Earl of Essex, Sir Roger Williams, Sir John Norris, Sir Francis Drake, and other prominent historical personages. There can be little doubt that it was suppressed soon after it was printed, and it will easily be perceived how likely it was to give offence in high quarters.

J. P. C.

Maidenhead,
September 1870.



TO THE READER.

OME holding opinion that it is onely proper to men of learning (whose arte may grace their dooings) to write of matter worthie to be committed to the view of future ages, may judge the publication of such Discourses as are contained in this pamphlet to be an adventure too great for a professed souldier to undertake : but I, more respecting the absolute truth of the matter than the faire shew that might be set thereon, and preferring the high reputation of the Actors in this journey before the request of my particular friend, have presumed to present unto you a report of the late *Voyage into Spaine and Portingall*, sent unto me almost 4 moneths sithence from a gentleman, my verie nere friend, employed in the same ; who, as it appeareth in his observations, hath advisedlie seene into everie action thereof : and because I have often conferred with manie that were in the same journey, verie nere upon everie particular of his relation, and finde as much confirmed as I have received, I presume to deliver it unto you for true and exact. Howbeit, forasmuch as it came unto my hands with his earnest request to reserve it to myselfe, I had almost consented thereunto, had not the desire I have to reconcile the contrarietie of opinions that be held of that action, and to make it known what honour the cause hath laid upon our whole nation, mooved me to publish the same : whereof sith there may growe a greater benefit in publique

(for that manie shall partake thereof) than the pleasure can be to him in smothering the labors he hath bestowed in setting downe the Discourse, I doubt not but he, esteeming a common good before his private fancie, will pardon me herein. In the behalfe of whom, I beseech you to whose view and reading the same^e is offered, not so curioullie to looke upon the forme as upon the matter; which I present unto you as he sent it, naked and unpolished. And you that were companions with him of the journey, if anie of you may thinke your selves not fully satisfied in the report of your deservings, let me intreate you to excuse him; in that he, indeavouring to write thereof briefly for my particular understanding, did onely take notice of them who commaunded the services in chiefe, as being of greatest marke, and lay the blame upon me, who can by no meanes avoyd it: saving that, from the fault I have committed (if it be a fault), I hope there may some good proceed. It hath satisfied me in many things whereof I being ignorant, was led into an erroneous conceipt of the matter and of the persons: and I hope it shall both confirme others who maie remaine doubtfull of either; and reforme them that, having been seduced, are become sectaries agaynst the same. I will, therefore, commend the man and matter to your friendly censure, forbearing to notifie his name, least I might increase mine offence against him, and be namelesse my selfe for other good considerations: which I leave, friendly Reader, to thy best construction.

THE TRUE COPIE OF A LETTER,
Sent from a Gentleman, who was in al the Services
that were in the late Journey of Spaine
and Portingall, to a friend of his.

ALTHOUGH the desire of advancing my reputation caused me to withstand the manie perswasions you used to hold me at home, and the pursute of honorable actions drew me (contrarie to your expectation) to neglect that advise, which in love I know you gave me, yet in respect of the manie assurances you have yeilded me of your kindest friendship, I can not suspect that you wil either love or esteeme me the lesse at this my returne; and, therefore, will not omit any occasion which may make me appeare thankfull, or discharge anie part of that dutie I owe you, which now is none other than to offer you a true discourse how these warres of Spaine and Portingall have passed since our going out of England the xviii of Aprill, till our returne, which was the first of July. Wherein I wil (under your favourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, as well make relation of those reasons which confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which have happened during our abode there; thereby hoping to perswade you that no light fancie did draw me from the fruition of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire, by following the warres to make my selfe more worthie of the same.

Having, therefore, determinately purposed to put on the habit of a souldiour, I grewe doubtfull whether to imploy my time in the warres of the Lowe Countreyes, which are in auxiliarie manner mainteined by her Majestie, or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an adventure of her, and manie honourable perfonages, in revenge of un-supportable wrongs offered unto the estate of our countrey by the Castilian king: in arguing whereof I finde, that by how much the challenger is reputed before the defendant, by so much is this jorney to be preferred before those defensive warres. For had the Duke of Parma his turne been to defend, as it was his good fortune to invade, from whence could have proceeded that glorious honor which these late warres have laid uppon him, or what could have been said more of him than of a respondent (though never so valiant) in a private duell? Even that he hath done no more than by his honour he was tied unto; for the gaine of one towne, or anie small defeate, giveth more renowme to the assailant than the defence of a countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters, can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to gard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the Spaniard, as the reports of former histories may assure us, which have still laid the fame of all warres upon the invador. And do not ours in these daies live obscured in Flanders, either not having wherewithall to manage anie warre, or not putting on armes, but to defend themselves when the enemy shall procure them? Whereas, in this short time of our adventure, wee have wonne a towne by escalade, battred and assaulted another, overthrowen a mightie princes power in the field, landed our armie in three severall places of his

kingdom, marched feaven daies in the hart of his countrey, lyen three nights in the fuburbes of his principall citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and poffeffed two of his frontier forts, as fhall in difcource thereof more particularly appeare: whereby I conclude that going with an invadour, and in fuch an action as everie daie giveth new experience I have much to vaunt of, that my fortune did either carrie me thither than into the warres of Flanders.

Notwithstanding the vehement perfwasions you ufed with me to the contrarie, the ground whereof fithence you received them from others, you muft give me leave to acquaint you with the error you were lead into by them, who, labouring to bring the world into an opinion that it stood more with the fafetie of our eftate to bend all our forces againft the Prince of Parma, than to followe this action, by looking into the true effects of this journey, will judicially convince themfelves of miftaking the matter. For may the conquest of thefe countreyes againft the Prince of Parma bee thought more eafie for us alone now, than the defence of them was xi years agoe, with the men and money of the Queene of England, the power of Monsieur of France; the affiftance of the principall States of Germanie, and the nobilitie of their owne countrey? Could not an armie of more than 20,000 horfe, and almoft 30,000 foote, beate Don John de Auftria out of the countrey, who was poffeffed of a very few frontier townes? And fhall it now be laid upon her Majefties fhoulders to remoove fo mightie an enimie, who hath left us but 3 whole parts of 17 unconquered? It is not a journey of a few months, nor an auxiliarie warre of few yeres, that can damnifie the King of Spaine in thofe places, where we fhall meete at everie 8 or 10 miles end with

a towne, which will cost more the winning than will pay 4 or 5000 mens wages, where all the countrey is quartred by rivers, which have no passage unfortefied, and where most of the best souldiers of Christendome, that be on our aduerse partie, be in pencion. But our armie, which hath not cost her Majestie much above the third part of one yeares expences in the Lowe Countries, hath alreadie spoyled a great part of the provision he had made at the Groyne of all forts for a newe voyage into England, burnt 3 of his ships, whereof one was the second in the last yeares expedition, taken from him above 150 pieces of good artillarie, cut off more than 60 hulkes and 20 French ships, well manned, fit and readie to serve him for men of warre against us, laden for his store with corne, victualls, masts, cables, and other merchandize; slaine and taken the principall men of warre hee had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portingall, shamefullie runne at Penieha; laide along of his best commanders in Lisbone; and by these fewe adventures discovered how easilie her Majestie may, without any great adventure, in short time pull the *Tirant of the World* upon his knees, as well by the disquieting his usurpation of Portingall as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him by sending an armie so accomplished as may not be subject to those extremities which we have endured, except he draw for those defences his forces out of the Lowe Countries, and disfurnish his garifons of Naples and Milan, which with safetie of those places he may not doo. And yet by this meane shall rather be inforced thereunto, than by any force that can be used there against him: wherefore I directly conclude that

this proceeding is the most safe and necessarie way to be held against him, and, therefore, more importing than the warre in the Lowe Countries.

Yet hath the journey (I know) been much disliked by some, who, either thinking too worthely of the Spaniards valour, too indifferently of his purposes against us, or too unworthely of them that undertooke this journey against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceede by invasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subjects of their qualitie to undertake; and, therefore, did not so advance the beginnings, as though they hoped for any good successe thereof.

The chaunces of warres bee things most uncertaine; for what people foeuer undertake them, they are in deede but as chastizements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to give some victories to the Spaniards of late yeares against some whome he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what warres they be that have made their name so terrible, we shall finde them to have been none other than against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the unarmed Netherlanders, whose yeelding rather to the name than act of the Spaniards hath put them into such a concept of their mightines, as they have considerately undertaken the conquest of our monarchie, consisting of a people united, and alwaies held sufficientlie warlike; against whom what successe their invincible armie had the last yeare, as our very children can witnes, so I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne what they are even upon their owne dounghill; which, had it been set out in such fort

as it was agreed uppon by their first demaund, it might have made our nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8 of the 12 peeces of artillerie, which was promised unto the adventure, lost her Majestie the possession of the Groyne, and many other places, as hereafter shall appeare, whose defensible rampiers were greater than our batterie (such as it was) could force, and, therefore, were left unattempted.

It was also resolved to have sent 600 English horse of the Lowe Countries, wherof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither; and that may the armie assembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portingall, who foreranne us fixe daies together. Did wee not want seaven of the thirteene old companies we should have had from thence? foure of the ten Dutch companies, and fixe of their men of warre for the sea from the Hollanders? which I may justly say we wanted in that we might have had so many good souldiers, so many good shippes, and so many able bodies more than we had.

Did there not, upon the first thinking of the journey, divers gallant courtiers put in their names for adventurers to the summe of 10,000 li, who, seeing it went [not] forward in good earnest, advised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money upon the journey?

Was there not, moreover, a round summe of the adventure spent in levieng, furnishing, and mainteyning three moneths 1500 men for the service of Berghen; with which companies the mutinies of Ostend was suppressed, a service of no small moment?

What miserie the detracting of the time of our setting

out, which should have been the first of Februarie, did lay upon us, too many can witnesse: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victualls which we did eate during the moneth we lay at Plimoth for a winde, might have driven us unto, no man can doubt of that knoweth what men doo live by, had not God given us in the end a more prosperous winde and shorter passage into Galitia then hath been often seen, where our owne force and fortune revictualled us largely: of which crosse windes that held us two daies after our going out, the Generalls, being wearie, thrust to sea in the same, wisely choosung rather to attend the change thereof there, than by being in harborough to loose any part of the better when it should come, by having their men on shoare: in which two daies 25 of our companies, shipped in parte of the fleete, were scattered from us, either not being able or willing to double Ushant.

These burthens laid upon our Generalls before their going out they have patiently endured, and thinke they have thereby much enlarged their honor; for having done thus much with the want of our artillarie, 600 horse, 3000 foote, 20,000 li of their adventure, and one moneths victualls of their proportion, what may bee conjectured they would have done with their full compliment?

For the losse of our men at sea, since wee can lay it on none but the will of God, what can be saide more than that it is his pleasure to turne all those impediments to the honour of them against whom they were intended? and he will still shew himselfe the God of hostes in dooing great things by them whome many have sought to obscure: who, if they had let the action fal at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such, especially for the

service at land, as would have made a mightie subject stoope under them. I doo not see how any man could justly have laid any reproach upon him who commanded the same, but rather have lamented the iniquitie of this time, wherein men whom foreign countries have for their conduct in service worthily esteemed of, should not only in their owne countrey not be seconded in their honourable endeavors, but mightily hindred, even to the impairing of their owne estates, which most willingly they have adventured for the good of their countries: whose worth I will not vallow by my report, least I should seeme guiltie of flatterie (which my foule abhorreth) and yet come short in the true measure of their praise.

Onely, for your instruction, against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you ought to holde of such men, you shall understand that Generall Norris from his booke was trained up in the warres of the Admirall of France, and in verie young yeares had charge of men under the Erle of Effex in Ireland; which with what commendations he there discharged, I leave to the reporte of them who observed those services. Upon the breach betwixt Don John and the States, he was made Colonell Generall of all the English forces there present or to come, which he continued two yeares: hee was then made Marshall of the field under Conte Hohenlo; and after that Generall of the armie in Frisland. At his comming home, in the time of Monfieur's government in Flanders, hee was made Lord President of Monster, in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeare he was sent for, and sent Generall of the English forces her Majestie then lent to the Lowe Countries; which hee held till the Earle of Leicesters

going over. And hee was made Marshall of the Field in England, the enimie being upon our coast, and when it was expected the crowne of England should have been tried by battaile. All which places of commandement, which never any English-man successively attained unto in forraine warres, and the high places her Majestie hath thought him worthie of may suffice to perswade you that he was not altogether unlikely to discharge that which he undertooke.

What fame Generall Drake hath gotten by his journey about the world, by his adventures in the West Indies, and the scourges he hath laid upon the Spanish nation, I leave to the Southerne parts to speake of, and referre you to the booke extant in our own language treating of the fame; and beseech you, considering the waightie matters they have in all the course of their lives with wonderfull reputation managed, that you will esteeme them not well informed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they undertooke, especiallie having gone thus farre in the viewe of the world through so many incombrances, and disappointed those agreements which led them the rather to undertake the service.

But it may be you wil thinke me herein either too much opiniated of the voiage, or conceited of the commanders, that labouring thus earnestly to advance the opinion of them both, have not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weaknes, and wants, that have been amongst us, whereof they that returned did plentifully report. True it is, I have conceived a great opinion of the journey, and doo thinke honorably of the commanders; for we finde in greatest antiquities that many commanders have been received home with triumph for lesse merite, and that our

owne countrey hath honoured men heretofore with admiration for adventures unequall to this : it might, therefore, in those daies have seemed superfluous to extend any mans commendations by particuler remembrances, for that then all men were readie to give everie man his due. But I holde it most necessarie in these daies, sithence everie vertue findeth her directt opposit, and actions worthy of all memory are in danger to be enviously obscured to denounce the praises of the action and actors to the full ; but yet no further than with sinceritie of truth, and not without grieving at the injurie of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of apologies for those men and matters, which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be.

But to answere the reports which have been given out in reproch of the actors and action by such as were in the fame, let no man think otherwise but that they who, fearing the casuall accidents of warre, had any purpose of retourning, did first advise of some occasion that should moove them thereunto ; and having found any what so ever did thinke it sufficiently just, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out matter that might colour their coming home.

Of these there were some who, having noted the late Flemmish warres, did finde that many young men have gone over and safely retourned foldiers within fewe moneths in having learned some words of art used in the warres, and thought, after that good example, to spend like time amongst us ; which being expired, they began to quarrell at the great mortallitie that was amongst us.

The neglect of discipline in the armie, for that men were suffered to be drunck with the plentie of wines.

The scarfetie of furgions.

The want of carriages for the hurt and sicke; and the penurie of victualls in the campe.

Thereupon divining that there would be no good done; and that, therefore, they could be content to lose their time, and adventure to returne home againe.

These men have either conceived well of their owne wits (who, by observing the passages of the warre, were become sufficient soldiers in these few weeks) and did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondred at, or missing of their portegues and milrayes they dreamed on in Portingall, would rather returne to their former manner of life than attend the end of the journey. For, seeing that one hazard brought on another, and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might light upon him tomorrow, the next day, or any day, and that the warre was not confined to any one place, but that everie place brought forth new enemies, were glad to see some of the poore soldiers fall sicke, that they, fearing to be infected by them, might justly desire to goe home.

Answere to the first. The sicknes, I confesse, was great, because any is too much. But hath it been greater than is ordinarie amongst Englishmen at their first entrance into the warres, whether soever they goe to want the fulnes of their flesh pots? Have not ours decayed at all times in France with eating young fruites and drinking new wines? Have they not abundantly perished in the Lowe Countries with cold and rawnes of the ayre, even in their garrisons? Have there not more died in London in fixe moneths of the plague, than double our armie being at the strongest? And could the Spanish armie the last yeare (who had all

provisions that could be thought on for an armie, and tooke the fittest season of the yeare for our climate) avoide sickness amongst their foldiers? May it then be thought that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to distemper them withal?

But can it bee, that wee have lost so many as the common sort perswade themselves we have? It hath been proved, by strickt examinations of our musters, that wee were never, in our fulnes before our going from Plymoth, 11,000 foldiers, nor above 2500 mariners. It is also evident that there returned above 6000 of all sorts, as appeareth by the severall payments made to them since our comming home. And I have truly showed you that of these number verie neare 3000 forfooke the armie at the sea, whereof some passed into France, and the rest returned home. So as wee, never being 13,000 in all, and having brought home above 6000 with us, you may see how the world hath been seduced in beleeving that wee have lost 16,000 men by sickness.

Anfwere to the second. To them that have made question of the government of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth therunto in that ther were so many drunkards amongst us), I answer that in their government of shires and parishes—yea, in their verie housholdes—themselves can hardly bridle their vassalls from that vice. For we see it a thing almost impossible, at any your fayres or publique assemblies, to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in your townes any alepoles unfrequented: and we observe that though any man, having any disordered persons in their houses, doe locke up their drinke and set butlers upon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale them-

selves drunke from their masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If, then, at home, in the eyes of your justices, mayors, preachers, and masters, and where they pay for everie pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor, doo they thinke that those base disordered persons whome themselves sent unto us, as living at home without rule, who hearing of wine doe long for it, as a daintie that their purses could never reach in England, and having it there without money, even in their houses where they lie and hold their garde, thay can be kept from being drunk? and, once drunk, held in any order or tune, except we had for everie drunckard an officer to attend him? But who be they that have runne into these disorders? Even our newest men, our youngest men, and our idlest men; and, for the most parte, our slovenly prest men, whome the justices (who have alwaies thought unworthely of any warre) have sent us out as the scumme and dregges of their countrey. And those were they who, distempering themselves with these hot wines, have brought in that sicknes which hath infected honest men than themselves. But I hope (as in other places) the recoverie of their diseases dooth acquaint their bodies with the ayre of the countries where they be, so the remainder of these, which have either recovered or past without sicknes, will proove most fit for martiall exercises.

Answer to the third. If we have wanted furgions, may not this rather be laide upon the captaines, who are to provide for their severall companies, than upon the generalls, whose care hath been more generall? And how may it be thought that everie captaine, upon whome most of the charges of raising their companies was laid as an adventure, could provide themselves of all things expedient for a

warre (which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purse of the prince). But admit everie captaine had his furgion, yet were the want of curing never the lesse, for our English furgions (for the most part) bee unexperienced in hurts that come by shot, because England hath not known warres but of late; from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which, I hope, will warne those that hereafter goe to the warres to make preparation of such as may better preserve mens lives by their skill.

Anfwere to the fourth. From whence the want of carriages did proceed, you may conjecture, in that we marched through a countrey niether plentiful of such provisions, nor willing to parte from any thing; yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place unprovided for; and that the generall commanded all the mules and asses that were laden with any baggage, to be unburdened and taken to that use: and the Earle of Essex and hee for money hired men to carrie men upon pikes. And the Earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it dooth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw his owne stuffe—I meane apparrell and necessaries—which he had there, from his owne carriages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men upon them: of whose most honorable deservings I shall not neede here to make any particuler discourse, for that many of his actions doo hereafter give me occasion to observe the same.

Anfwere to the fifth. And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victuals may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the warre; for if to feede upon good beeves, mutton and goats, be to want, they have indured great scarcitie at land; whereunto they never

wanted two daies together wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eate with their meate (in some quantitie), except it were such as had vowed rather to starve than to stirre out of their places for food: of whom we had too manie, who, if their time had served for it, might have feene, in manie campes in the most plentiful countries of the world for victuals, men daylie die for want of bread and drink, in not having money to buy, nor the countrie yeelding anie good or healthfull water in anie place; whereas both Spaine and Portingall do in everie place afford the best water that may be, and much more healthfull than any wine for our drinking.

And, although some have most injuriouſlie exclaimed againſt the ſmall proviſions of victualls for the ſea, rather grounding the ſame upon an evill that might have fallen than anie that did light upon us, yet knowe you this, that there is no man ſo forgetfull that will ſay they wanted before they came to the Groyne; that whoſoever made not verie large proviſions for himſelfe and his company at the Groyne was verie improvident, where was plentiful ſtore of wine, beefe, and fiſh, and no man of place prohibited to laye in the ſame into their ſhippes: wherewith ſome did ſo furniſh themſelves, as they did not onely in the journey ſupplie the wants of ſuch as were leſſe provident than they, but in their return home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Caſcais there came in ſuch ſtore of proviſions into the fleete out of England, as no man that would have uſed his diligence could have wanted his due proportion thereof: as might appeare by the remainder that was returned to Plymouth, and the plentiful ſale thereof made out of the merchants ſhips after their coming into the Thames.

But least I should seeme unto you too studious in confuting idle opinions, or answering frivolous questions, I will addresse me to the true report of those actions that have passed there; wherein, I protest, I will neither hide anie thing that hath happened against us, nor attribute more to anie man or matter than the just occasions therof leadeth unto; wherein it shall appeare that there hath been nothing left undone by the generalls which was before our going out undertaken by them, but that there hath been much more done than was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should have reaped the fruite of our adventure.

After 6 daies failing from the coast of England, and the fift after we had the winde good, beeing the 20 of August, in the evening we landed in a bay more than an English mile from the Groyne, in our long boates and pinnaces, without anie impeachment; from whence we presently marched toward the towne, within one halfe mile whereof we were encountred by the enemie, who, being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our armie lay in the villages, houses, and mills next adjoyning, and verie neare round about the towne; into the which the galeon named Saint John (which was the second of the last yeres fleete against England), one hulk, two smaller ships, and two gallies, which were found in the rode, did beate upon us and upon our companies, as they passed to and fro, that night and the next morning.

Generall Norris, having that morning, before day, viewed the towne, found the same defended on the land side (for it standeth on the neck of an iland) with a wal upon a drie ditch: whereupon he resolved to trie in two places what might be done against it by *escalade*, and in the meane

time advised for the landing of some artillarie to beat upon the ships and gallies, that they might not annoy us : which being put in execution, upon the planting of the first peece the gallies abandoned the roade, and betooke them to Farroll, not farre from thence ; and the Armado, being beaten with the artillery and musketers that was placed upon the next shoare, left her playing upon us. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the companies, and other provisions readie for the surprise of the base towne, which was effected in this fort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men, under the conduct of Colonell Huntley and Captaine Fenner, the Vizeadmirall, on that side next fronting us, by water, in long boates and pynnifes, wherein were placed manie peeces of artillarie to beate upon the towne in their approach. At the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captain Richard Wingfeild, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake, to enter at lowe water with 500 men, if they found it passable ; but, if not, to betake them to the *escalade*, for they had also ladders with them ; at the other corner of the wall, which joyned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Umpton and Colonell Brett, with 300 men, to enter by *escalade*. All the companies which should enter by boate being imbarcked before the lowe water, and having given the alarme, Captaine Wingfeild and Captaine Sampson betooke them to the *escalade*, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boates landed without anie great difficultie, yet had they some men hurt in the landing. Colonel Bret and Col. Umpton entred

their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them ; for Captain Hinder, being one of them that entred by water, at his first entrie (with some of his owne companie, whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleered before that they offered to enter, and so still scoured the wall) till he came on the backe of them who maintained the fight against Capteine Wingfeild and Captaine Sampson, who were twice beaten from their ladders, and found verie good resistance, till the enemies, perceiving ours entred in two places at their backs, were driven to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended than the other is (as Don Juan de Luna, who commanded the same, affirmeth) that the enemy that day had resolved in counsell how to make their defences, if they were approached ; and therein concluded that if we attempted it by water, that it was not to be helde ; and, therefore, on the discoverie of our boates, they of the high towne should make a signall by fier from thence, that al the low towne might make their retreat thither : but they (whither troubled with the sodaine terror we brought upon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fier, which made them gard that place till wee were entred on everie side.

Then, the towne being entred in three severall places with an huge crie, the inhabitants betooke them to the high towne, which they might with lesse perrill doe, for that ours, being strangers ther, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in furie fled to the rockes in the iland, and hid themselves in chambers and fellers, which were everie day found out in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Juan de Luna, a man of verie good

commandement, having hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a Commissarie of vittels, called Juan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groyne at our entrie 500 foldiers, being in seaven companies, which returned verie weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the journey of England, namely :

Under Don Juan deluna.

Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of Santa Chroche : his companie was that night in the galeon.

Don Antonio de Herera, then at Madrill.

Don Pedro de Mauriques, brother to the Earle of Paxides.

Don Jeronimo de Mourray, of the order of Saint Juan, with some of the towne, were in the fort.

Don Gomer de Caramafal, then at Madrill.

Captaine Moufon, Caucafo de Socas.

Also, there came in that day of our landing, from Retanzas, the companies of Don Juan de Mofalle, and Don Petro poure de Leon.

Also, hee saith that there was order given for baking of 300,000 of bisquet, some in Batancas, some in Rivadea, and the rest there.

There was then in the towne 2000 pipes of wine, and an 150 in the ships.

That there was lately come unto the Marquis of Seralba 300,000 ducats.

That there was 1000 jarres of oyle.

A greate quantitie of beanes, pease, wheate, and fish.

That there was 3000 quintells of beefe.

And that not twenty dayes before there came in three barques, laden with match and harquebuses.

Some others also found favour to bee taken prifoners; but the reft, falling into the hands of the common foldiers, had their throates cut, to the number of 500, as I conjecture, firft and laft, after wee had entred the towne; and in the enterie thereof there was found everie celler full of wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drinking, both grewe themselves, for the prefent, fenceles of the danger of the fhott of the towne, which hurt many of them, being drunke, and tooke the firft ground of their ficknes, for of fuch was our firft and chiefeft mortalitie. There was also abundant ftore of victualls, falte and all kinde of provifion for fhipping and the warre; which was confeffed by the faid Commiffarie of victualls, taken there, to be the beginning of a magafin of all forts of provifion for a new voiage into England: whereby you may conjecture what the fpoile thereof hath advantaged us, and prejudiced the King of Spaine.

The next morning, about eight of the clocke, the enemye abandoned their fhippes; and, having overcharged the artillarie of the gallion, left her on fier, which burnt in terrible fort two daies together, the fier and overcharging of the peeces being fo great, as of 50 that were in her, ther wer not above 16 taken out whole; the reft, with overcharge of the powder, being broken and molten with heat of the fire, was taken out in broken peeces into divers fhippes. The fame day was the Cloifter on the fouth fide of the towne entered by us, which joyned very neare to the wall of the towne, out of the chambers and other places whereof wee beate into the fame with our mufquetiers.

The next day, in the afternoone, there came downe fome 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrie, even to the gates of the towne, as refolutlie (led by what fpirit I

knowe not) as though they would have entered the same : but at the first defence made by ours that had the gard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approach, and with greater speede than ours were able to followe. Notwithstanding, we followed after them more than a mile. The second day, Col. Huntley was sent into the countrie with three or foure hundred men, who brought home verie great store of cowes and sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day, in the night, the generall had in purpose to take a long münition house, builded upon their wall, opening towards us, which would have given us great advantage against them; but they, knowing the commoditie thereof for us, burnt it in the beginning of the evening : which put him to a new councell, for he had likewise brought some artillarie to that side of the towne. During this time there happened a verie great fire in the lower end of the towne ; which had it not been, by the care of the generals, heedilie seen unto, and the furie thereof prevented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next unto them, had burnt all the provisions we found there, to our wonderfull hinderance.

The 4 day were planted, under the garde of the Cloyster, two demie canons and two culverings against the towne, defended or gabioned with a crosse wall, through the which our batterie lay ; the first and second tyre whereof shooke al the wall downe, so as the ordnance lay al open to the enemye ; by reason whereof some of the canoniers were shot and some slaine. The Lieutenant, also, of the ordnance, Master Spencer, was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof ; whose valour being accompanied with an

honorable care of defending that trust committed unto him, he never left that place till he received direction from the Generall, his brother, to cease the batterie, which hee presently did, leaving a guard upon the same for that day; and, in the night following, made so good a defence for the place of the batterie, as after there were verie fewe or none annoyed them. That day, Captain Goodwin had in commandement from the General that, when the assault should be given to the towne, he should make a profer of an *escalade* on the other side, where hee held his guard; but he (mistaking the signall that should have been given) attempted the same long before the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day, the Generall, having planted his ordnance readie to batter, caused the towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the towne shot at our drum. Immediately after that, there was one hanged over the wall, and a parley desired, wherein they gave us to understand, that the man hanged was he that shot at the drum before; wherein, also, they intreated to have faire warres, with promise of the same on their parts: the rest of the parley was spent in talking of Don Juan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendring of the towne; but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris having, by his skilfull viewe of the towne (which is almost seated upon a rocke) found one place thereof myneable, and did presently set workmen in hand withal, who, after 3 daies labor (and the seventh after wee were entred the base towne) had bedded their powder, but, indeed, not farre inough into the wall. Agaynst which time, the breach made by the cannon being thought assault-

able, and companies appoynted as wel to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowen up by the myne; namely, to that of the cannon, Captaine Richard Wingfeild, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generalls foote companie; with whom, also, Captaine Yorke went, whose principall commandment was over the horsmen. And to that of the myne, Captaine John Sampson and Captaine Anthonie Wingfeild, Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordinance, with certain selected out of divers regiments. All these companies being in armes, and the assault intended to be given in all places at an instant, fier was put to the train of the myne; but by reason the powder brake out backwards, in a place where the cave was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time, Captaine Hinder was sent, with some chosen out of everie companie, into the countrie for provisions, whereof hee brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day, Captaine Anthonie Sampson was sent out, with some 500, to fetch in provisions for the armie, who was encountred by them of the countrie; but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoyle. The same night, the myners were set to worke againe; who, by the second day after, had wrought verie wel into the foundation of the wall. Against which time, the companies aforefaid being in readines for both places (Generall Drake on the other side, with 2 or 300 men in pinnaces, making profer to attempt a strong fort upon an iland before the towne, where he left more than 30 men), fier was given to the trayne of the myne, which blew up halfe the tower under which the powder was planted. The assailants having in charge, upon

the effecting of the myne, presently to give the assault, which they did accordingly, but too soone; for, having entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the tower, which by the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell uppon our men, under which were buried about 20 or 30, then being under that part of the tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forooke their commanders, and left them among the ruines of the myne. The two ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthonie Wingfeild were shot in the breach, but their colours were rescued, the General's by Captaine Sampson's Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfeild's by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell upon was Captaine Sydnam, pitifully lost; who, having three or foure great stones upon his lower parts, was helde so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor anie reasonable companie recover him. Notwithstanding, the next day, being found to be alive, ther was 10 or 12 lost in attempting to relieve him.

The breach made by the cannon was wonderful wel assaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the breach; and being readie to enter, the loose earth (which was, indeede, but the rubbish of the outside wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from under their feete; whereby did appeare halfe the wal unbattered: for let no man thinke that culverine or demie cannon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampier; and of those peeces we had, the better of the demi canons, at the second shot, brake in her carriages, so as the battrie was of lesse force, being but of three pieces.

In our retreat (which was from both the breaches thorowe a narrowe lane) were many of our men hurt; and Captaine Dolphin, who served verie well that day, was hurt in the verie breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of best judgement, was the fall of the myne; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather the approach was unlooked for by the enemy at that place, and, therefore, not so much defence was made there as in the other. Which made the Generall grow to a new resolution; for, finding that two dayes batterie had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall, he knewe in his experience there was no good to be done that way: which, I thinke, he first put in prooffe to trie if by terror he could get the upper towne, having no other way to put it in hazard so speedelie, and which, in my conscience, had obtained the towne, had not the defendants been in as great perill of their lives by the displeasure of their King in giving it up, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day, before the assault, in the view of our armie, they burnt a cloyster within the towne, and manie other houses adjoyning the castle, to make it the more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselves had of holding it against us, had not God (who would not have us sodainly made proud) laid that misfortune upon us.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure cannons and other pieces of batterie promised to the journey, and not performed, might have made her Majestie mistres of the Groyne; for, though the myne were infortunate, yet, if the other breach had been such as the earth would have helde

our men thereon, I doo not thinke but they had entred it throughly at the first assault given, which had been more than I have heard of in our age; and being as it was, is no more than the Prince of Parma hath, in winning of all his townes, endured, who never entred anie place at the first assault, nor above three by assault.

The next day, the Generall hearing, by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an army of 8000 at Puente de Burgos, fixe miles from thence on the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an armie, in that there was a greater leavie redie to come thether under the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieve the Groyne, or to encamp themselves neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same: for to that purpose had the Marques of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commisarie taken then confessed, or, at the least, to stop our further entrance into the countrey (for during this time there were many incursions made, of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoyled, and brought in victualls plentifully). The Generall, I say, hearing of this armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, against whom he carried but nine regiments: in the vangard were the regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the battaile, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkirk; and in the rereward Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Bret's regiments; leaving the other five regiments with Generall Drake for the garde of the Cloyster and artillarie.

About tenne of the clocke the next day, being the sixt of May, halfe a mile from the camp wee discovered the

emie. Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the vangard in chiefe, appoynted his Lieutenant Colonell, Captaine Anthonie Wingfeild, to command the shot of the same, who devided them into three troupes: the one he appoynted to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand; another to Captaine Etherington to take the way on the right hand; and the bodie of them (which were musketters) Captaine Wingfeild tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way helde by Captaine Wingfeild; so, as he giving the first charge upon the emie, was in the instant seconded by Captaine Wingfeild, who beate them from place to place (they having verie good places of defence, and crosse walls, which they might have held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is over a creek comming out of the sea, builded of stone upon arches; on the foote of the further side whereof lay the campe of the emie, verie stronglie entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris, marching in the poynt of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied by Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and divers others; who found the way cleere over the same, but through an incredible volie of shot, for that the shot of their armie flanked upon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrells; but they, who should have garded the same, seeing the proude approach wee made, forooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with verie earnestnes in over-thrusting, fell, and was grievously hurt at the sword in the head, but was

most honourable rescued by the Generall, his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder, also, having his caske shot off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword; and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same counter: yet were they so throughlie seconded by the Generall, who thrust himself so neere to give encouragement to the attempt (which was of wonderfull difficultie) as their bravest men that defended that place being overthrowne, their whole armie fell presentlie into route, of whom our men had the chase three miles, in foure sondrie waies which they betooke themselves unto.

There was taken the standard, with the King's armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of so many consisted our vangard) might kill in pursuit of the 4 fundrie partees, so many you may imagine fell before us that day: and to make the number more great, our men, having given over the execution, and returning to their stands, found many hidden in the vineyards and hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his regiment three miles further to a Cloyster, which he burnt and spoyled, wherein he found two hundred more, and put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onlie Captaine Cooper, and one private souldier: Captaine Barton was also hurt uppon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong barricades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would have thought it a rare resolution of ours to give so brave a charge upon an armie so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the vangard one way,

and the battell another, to burne and spoyle; so that you might have seen the countrie more than three miles compassed on fire. There was found verie good store of munition and victuals in the campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better fort left behind, they were so hotlie pursued. Our sailors also landed in an iland next adjoyning our shippes, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned to the Groyne, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at us as we marched out, but not once in our coming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our artillarie landed for the batterie, and of the rest taken at the Groyne; which, had it been such as might have given any assurance of a better batterie, or had there been no other purpose of our journey but that, I thinke the Generall would have spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights there were that undertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded upon the wall by the water side; but they within, suspecting as much, made so good defence against us as they prevented the same. In our departure, there was fire put into everie house of the lowe towne, in so much as I may justlie say there was not one house left standing in the base towne or the Cloyster.

The next day, being the eight of May, wee embarked our armie, without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the enemy at Puente de Burgos) had been impossible to have done; for that, without doubt, they would have attempted something against us in our imbarcking, as appeared by the report of the Commissarie aforesayd, who confessed

that the first night of our landing, the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, and to Terneis de Santiffo, to bring all the forces against us that they could possiblie raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place as to bring an armie thether; wherewithall they might either besiege us in their base towne, if we should get it, or to lie betweene us and our place of embarking, to fight with us upon the advantage, for they had above 15,000 souldiers under their commandements.

After wee had put from thence, wee had the winde so contrarie, as wee could not under nine daies recover the Burlings; in which passage, on the 13 day, the Earle of Effex, and with him Master Walter Devereux, his brother (a gentleman of wonderful great hope), Sir Roger Williams, Colonell Generall of the foot men, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwaies been most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfeild, came into the fleete. The Earle, having put himselfe into the journey against the opinion of the world, and, as it seemed, to the hazard of his great fortune, though to the great advancement of his reputation, (for, as the honorable carriage of himselfe towards all men doth make him highlie esteemed at home, so did his exceeding forwardnes in all services make him to be wondered at amongst us) who, I say, put off in the same winde from Falmouth, that wee left Plymouth in; where he lay, because he would avoide the importunitie of messengers that were daylie sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had been as farre as Cales in Andalofia, and lay up and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with corne,

and brought them unto the fleete. Also, in his returne from thence to meete with our fleete, he fell [in] with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that side of the river which Cannas standeth upon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those gentlemen that were with him, went on shore with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enemy that held gard upon the coast would not abide, but fled up the country.

After his comming into the fleet (to the great rejoycing of us all), he demaunded of the Generals that, after our armie should come on shore, he might alwaies have the leading of the vantgard, which they easilie yeelded unto, and, being desirous to satisfie him in all things, but especially in matters so much tending to his honor as this did; so as, in the time from our first landing in Portingall, he alwaies marched in the poynt of the vangard, accompanied with Sir Roger Williams (except when the necessitie of the place hee held) called him to other services.

The 16 day we landed at Penicha, in Portingall, under the shot of the Castle, and above the waft in water, more than a mile from the towne, wherein were many in peril of drowning, by reason the wind was great and the sea went high, which overthrew one boat, wherein 25 of Captaine Dolphin's men perished. The enemy, being five companies of Spanyards under the commaundement of the Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against us, and in our landing made their approach close to the water side. But the Earle of Effex, with Sir Roger Williams and his brother, having landed sufficient number to make 2 troupes, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led the other over the sandhills; which the enemy seeing, drew

theirs likewise further into the land, not, as we conjectured, to encounter us, but to make their speedie passage away : notwithstanding, they did it in such sort as, being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell Generall under Captaine Jacson, they stood the same even to the push of the pike ; in which charge, at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The enimie being fled further than we had reason to follow them, al our companies were drawn to the town ; which, being unfortified in any place, we found undefended by anie man against us. And, therefore, the Generall caused the Castle to be sommoned that night ; which, being abandoned by him that commaunded it, a Portingall, named Antonio de Aurid being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, where upon he would deliver the same, which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the castle 100 shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portingalls withall, and 20 barrells of powder ; so, as possessing both the towne and the castle, we rested there one day ; wherin some friers, and other poore men, came unto their newe King, promising, in the name of their countrie next adjoyning, that within two days he should have a good supplie of horse and foote for his assistance. That day we remained there the Generals company of horses were unshipped.

The Generals having there resolved that the armie should march overland to Lisbone, under the conduct of Generall Norris, and that General Drake should meet him in the river thereof with the fleete ; that there should be one company of foote left in gard of the castle, and 6 of the shippes ; also that the sicke and hurt should remaine there, with pro-

visions for their cures. The General, to trie the event of the matter by expedition, the next day began to march on this fort: his owne regiment and the regiments of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonel Lane, and Colonel Medkirk, in the vangard: General Drake, Colonel Devereux, S. Edward Norris, and Colonel Sidneis, in the battaile: S. James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfeild, Colonell Umptons, Colonell Huntleis, and Colonell Brets, in the arrereward. By that time our armie was thus marshalled, General Drake, who, though he were to passe by sea, yet to make known the honorable desire he had of taking equal part of al fortunes with us, stood upon the ascent of an hil by the which our battalions must of necessitie march, and with a pleasing kindnes tooke his leave severally of the commaunders of everie regiment, wishing us al happy successe in our journey over the land, with a constant promise that he would, if the injury of the wether did not hinder him, meet us in the river of Lisbone with our fleete. The want of carriages the first day was such as they were enforced to carrie their munition upon mens backes, which was the next day remedied.

In this march, Captaine Crispe, the Provost Marshall, caused one who (contrarie to the proclamation published at our arrivall in Portingall) had broken up a house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death upon his breast, in the place where the act was committed; which good example, providentlie given in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectivelie regarded all the journey after by them whom feare of punishment doth onelie hold within compasse. The camp lodged that night at Lorignia: the next day we had intelli-

gence al the way, that the enemie had made head of horfe and foote againſt us at Toras Vedras, which wee thought they would have held; but comming thither the ſeconde day of our march, not two hours before our vangarde came in, they leſte the towne and caſtle to the poſſeſſion of Don Antonio.

There began the greateſt want we had of victualls, eſpecially of bread, upon a commandement given from the Generall, that no man ſhould ſpoyle the countrey, or take anie thing from anie Portingal: which was more reſpectively obſerved than, I thinke, would have been in our owne countrey, amongſt our owne friends and kindred: but the countrey (contrarie to promiſe) having neglected the proviſion of victualls for us, whereby we were driven for that time into a great ſcarcitie. Which moved the Colonell Generall to call al the Colonels together, and with them to adviſe for ſome better courſe for our people: who thought it beſt firſt to advertiſe the King what neceſſitie we were in, before we ſhuld of our ſelves alter the firſt inſtitution of abſtinence: the Colonell General having acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance therof, went to the King; who, after ſome expoſtulations uſed, tooke the more carefull order for our men; and after that our armie was more plentifully relieved.

The third daye wee lodged our armie in three ſundrie villages, the one battalion lying in Enchara de los Cavaliers, another in Enchara de los Obiſpos, and the third in San Sebaſtians.

Captaine Yorke, who commanded the Generals horſe companie, in this march made triall of the valour of the horſemen of the enemie; who, by one of his corporalls,

charged with 8 horses through 40 of them, and himselfe through more than 200 with some 40 horse, who would abide him no longer than they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Loris, and had divers intelligences that the enemy would tarrie us there; for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of Lisbon that he would fight with us in that place; which hee might have done advantageously, for we had a bridge to passe over in the same place; but, before our coming, hee dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared unto us that hee had in purpose to encampe there: for wee found the ground staked out where their trenches should have been made; and their horsemen, with some few shot, shewed themselves upon a hill at our coming into that village. Whom Sir Henrie Norris (whose regiment had the poynt of the vanguard) thought to draw unto some fight, and therefore marched, without sound of drum, and somewhat faster than ordinarie, thereby get neere them before hee were discovered; for he was shadowed from them by an hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his companies anie thing neere, they retired.

Generall Drakes regiment that night, for the commoditie of good lodging, drewe themselves into a village more than one English mile from thence, and neare the enemy; who, not daring to doo anie thing against us in foure daies before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe upon the regiment, crying *Viva el Rey Don Antonio!* which was a general salutation thorough all the countrey as they came: whom our young souldiers (though it were upon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but, having got within their guard,

they fell to cut their throates : but the alarme being taken inwards, the officers of the two next companies, whose captaines (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately dead at the Groyne, brought down their colours and pikes upon them in so resolute a manner, as they presently drave them to retyre with losse : they killed of ours, at their first entrance, 14, and hurt fixe or seaven.

The next day we lodged at Alvelana, within three miles of Lisbone, where many of our fouldiers, drinking in two places of standing waters by the waie, were poysoned, and thereon presently died : some doo thinke it came rather by eating of honnie, which they found in the houses plentifully. But, whether it were by water or by honnie, the poore men were poysoned.

That night the Earle of Effex and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleven of the clock, with 1000 men, to lye in ambuscade neere the towne; and, having layd the same very neere, sent some to give the alarm unto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned as soone as it was light without dooing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was readie to have given an honourable chardge on them.

The 25 of May, in the evening, we came to the suburbes of Lisbone; at the verie entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams, calling Captain Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirteen shot, or thereabouts, and first scoured al the streetes till they came verie neare the towne: where they found none but olde folkes and beggers, crying *Viva el Rey Don Antonio!* and the houses shut up; for they had carried much of their wealth into the towne, and had fired some

houses by the water side full of corne and other provisions of victualls, least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in manie houses.

The foure regiments that had the vangard that day, which were Colonell Devereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sydneys, and General Drakes, whome I name as they marched, the Colonell Generall caused to holde guard in nearest streates of the suburbs. The battaile and the arrierward stood in armes all the night in the field neare to Alcantara. Before morning, Captaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell General, Sir Roger Williams, helde guard with Sir Edward Norris his regiment in three places verie neere the towne wall, and so helde the same till the other regiments came in the morning. About midnight, they within the towne burnt all their houses that stoode upon their wall, either within or without, least we, possessing them, might thereby greatly have annoyed the towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without perill) to take a church called S. Antonio, which joyned to the wall of the towne, and would have been a verie evill neighbour to the towne; but the enemy, having more easie entrie into it than wee, gained it before us. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the battaile and arrierward in the suburbs called Bona Vista, and in placing musquetiers in houses to frunt their shot upon the wall, who from the same scowred the great streates verie dangeroullie.

By this time our men, being throughly wearie with our fixe dayes march and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest: whereof the enemy being advertised, about one or two of the clocke, sallied out of the town, and made

their approach in three severall streates upon us, but chiefly in Colonell Bretts quarter; who (as most of the armie was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men into armes, and made head against them so thoroughly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carsey shot through the thigh, of which hurt he died within four dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Cave hurt (but not mortally), who were all of his regiment.

The resistance made, as wel here as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonel Medkerke commanded, put them to a sodaine fowle retreat; in so much as the Earle of Essex had the chase of them even to the gates of the high towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best commanders: their troupe of horsemen also came out, and, being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themselves againe. Manie of them also lefte the streates, and betooke them to houses which they found open; for the Serjeant Major, Captaine Wilson, slewe in one house, with his owne hands, three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kil manie others. Their losse, I can assure you, did triple ours, as well in qualitie as in quantitie.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake, with the whole fleete was come into Cascais, and possessed the towne without anie resistance: manie of the inhabitants, at their discoverie of our navie, fled with their baggage into the mountaines, and left the towne for anie man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent unto them, by a Portugall pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnes, so farre forth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessaries to the armie he had brought: which offer they joyfully embraced, and presently sent two

chiefe men of their towne to signifie their loyaltie to Don Antonio, and their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the cloyster called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the castle, which being guarded with fixtie-five Spaniards held still agaynst him.

As our fleete were casting anker when they came first into the road, there was a small ship of Brasil, that came from thence, which bare too with them, and seemed, by striking her sayles, as though she would also have ankered; but, taking her fittest occasion, hoysed againe, and would have passed up the river; but the Generall, presently discerning her purpose, sent out a pinnace or two after her, which forced her in such fort as she ranne her selfe upon the rocks. All the men escaped out of her; and the lading (being manie chests of sugar) was made nothing woorth by the salt water. In his going thether, also, he tooke ships of the Port of Portingall, which were sent from thence with fiteene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes, Serjeant Major of the same place, laden with men and victualls, to Lisbone: the rest that escaped put into San Vues.

The next day it pleased General Norris to cal al the colonells together, and to advise with them, whether it were more expedient to tarrie there to attend the forces of the Portingall horse and foote, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some convenient number to Cascais to fetch our artillarie and munition which was at our ships, saving that which, for necessitie of the service, was brought along with us? whereunto some, carried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the towne stood for us, held it best to make our abode there, and to

send some 3000 for our artillarie ; promising to themselves that the enemy, being well beaten the day before, would make no more fallies. Some others (whose unbelief was verie strong of any hope from the Portugall) perswaded rather to march wholly away, than to be any longer carried away with an opinion of things, where there was so little apparance. The Generall, not willing to leave any occasion of blott to be layd upon him for his speedie going from thence, nor to loose any more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio, tolde them that, though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpose of their journey, but an adventure therein, which, if it succeeded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich and wonderfull honorable ; and that they had done so much already in trial thereof as, what end soever happened, could nothing impair their credits, yet, in regard of the Kings last promise, that hee should have that night 3000 men, armed, of his owne country, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came, thereby to make him so strong that hee might send the like number for his munition, he would resolve to trie his fortune for the towne. But, if they came not, he found it not convenient to divide his forces by sending any to Cascais, and keeping the remainder behinde, sithence he saw them, the day before, so boldly fall upon his whole armie, and knew that they were stronger of souldiers within the towne than hee was without ; and that, before our returne could be from Cascais, that they expected more supplies from all places of souldiers, for the Duke of Bragantia and Don Francisco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was that, if the 3000 promised came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may bee here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderlie regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an armie against such an enemye, before hee knewe either the fulnes of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place, when he should come to it? Wherein, I pray you, remember the decree made in the Councell of Penicha, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our navie should meete us in the river of Lisbone, in the which was the store of all our provisions, and so the mean of our tariance in that place, which came not, thogh we continued till we had no munition left to entertaine a verie small fight. We are also to consider that the King of Portingall (whether carried away with imagination by the advertisements hee received from the Portingalls, or willing by any promise to bring such an armie into his countrie, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall that uppon his first landing there would be a revolt of his subjects; whereof there was some hope given, at our first entrie to Penicha, by the manner of yeelding of that towne and fort, which made the Generall thinke it most convenient speedilie to march to the principall place, thereby to give courage to the rest of the countrie. The friers, also, and the poore people that came unto him, promised that within two daies the gentlemen and others of the countrie would come plentifully in: within which two daies came many more priestes, and some verie fewe gentlemen on horsebacke; but not till we came to Toras Vedras, where they, that noted the course of things how they passed, might somewhat discover the weakenes of that people. There they tooke two daies more, and at the ende

thereof referred him till our comming to Lisbonne, with assurance that so soone as our armie should be seene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King, and fall upon the Spaniards.

After two nights tarriance at Lisbonne, the King, as you have heard, promised a supplie of 3000 foote, and some horse; but all his appoyntments being expired, even to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a cornet of 40, nor his foote furnish two ensignes fullie, although they carried three or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to enrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbours; for they committed more disorders, in everie place wher we came, by spoyle than any of our own.

The Generall, as you see, having done more than, before his comming out of England, was required by the King, and given credite to his many promises, even to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine daies longer; in which time he might have engaged himselfe further than with any honor he could come out of againe, by attempting a towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against us than wee had to oppugne them, with all our artillarie and munition being fifteene miles from us, and our men then declining; for there was the first shewe of any great sicknes amongst them. Whereby it seemeth that either his Prelacie did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three daies he sawe no semblance; or he, like a fillie lover, who promiseth himselfe favour by importuning a coy mistres, thought by our long being before his towne, that, in the ende, taking pitie on him, they would let him in.

What end the friers had by following him with such de-

votion, I knowe not ; but sure I am the laitie did respite their homage till they might see which way the victorie would sway, fearing to shewe themselves apparantly unto him, leaft the Spaniard should, after our departure (if we prevailed not) call them to accompt : yet sent they under hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to save their owne, if he became King ; but, indeede, verie well contented to see the Spaniards and us trie by blowes who should carrie away the crowne. For they bee of so base a mould, as they can verie well subject themselves to any government where they may live free from blowes, and have libertie to become rich, being loath to endure hazard either of life or goods. For, durst they have put on any minds throughly to revolt, they had three wonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselves did in generall confesse, that there were not above 5000 Spaniards in that part of the countrie, of which number the halfe were out of the towne till the last day of our march : during which time how easilie they might have prevailed against the rest any man may conceive. But, upon our approach, they tooke them all in, and combined themselves in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thether, when the fally was made uppon us by their most resolute Spaniards, how easilie might they have kept them out, or have given us the gate which was held for their retreate, if they had had any thought thereof.

And two daies after our comming to Cascaies, when 6000 Spaniards and Portingalls came against us as farre as S. Julians by land, as you shall presentlie heare (all which time, I thinke, there were not many Spaniards left in the

towne), they had a more fit occasion to shewe their devotion to the King, than any could be offered by our tarrying there. And they could not doubt that, if they had shut them out, but that we would have fought with them upon that advantage, having fought them in Galitia upon disadvantage to beate them; and, having taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof wee gave sufficient testimonie in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impressiō within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them upon anie hazard.

For what civil country hath ever suffred themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were? to be deprived of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized over thus long as they? And what countrey, living in flaverie under a stranger whom they naturally hate, having an armie in the field to fight for them and their libertie, would lie still with the yoke upon their neckes, attending if any strangers would unburthen them, without so much as rousing themselves under it, but they? They will promise much in speeches, for they bee great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, and, therefore, marched on into their countrey; but they performed little in action, whereof wee could have had no prooffe without this thorough triall: wherein hee hath discovered their weaknesse, and honorably performed more than could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these maligners, who seeke occasions of slander, have reported him to bee suspitious of a people of whose infidelitie he had no testimonie? and to be fearfull without cause, if he had refused to give credite to their promises without anie ad-

venture. Let no frivolous questionist, therefore, further enquire, why he marched so manie dayes to Lisbone, and tarried there so small a while ?

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gave order for our marching away ; himselfe, the Earle of Effex, and Sir Roger Williams, remaining, with the stande that was made in the high streete, till the whole armie was drawne into the field, and so marched out of the towne, appoynting Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield in the arrereward of them with the shot, thinking that the enemye (as it was most likelie) would have issued out upon our rising ; but they were otherwise advised. When we were come into the field, everie battalion fell into that order which by course appertained unto them, and so marched that night unto Cascais. Had wee marched through his countrie as enemies, our souldiers had been well supplied in all their wants ; but had wee made enemies of the suburbs of Lisbone, wee had been the richest armie that ever went out of England ; for besides the particuler wealth of everie house, there were many warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich marchandizes.

In our march that day the Gallies, which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed us at Lisbone (for that our way lay along the river), attended us till wee were past S. Julians, bestowing many shot amongst us, but did no harme at all, saving that they strooke off a private gentlemans legge, and killed a Sergeant-Majors moyle under him. The horfmen also followed us a farre of, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to hold march, nor we had carriage for.

After wee had been two daies at Cascais, wee had intel-

ligence by a frier that the enemie was marching strongly towards us, and then come as farre as S. Julians, which newes was so welcome to the Earle of Effex and the Generalls, as they offered everie one of them to give the messenger a hundred crowns if they found them in the place; for the Generall, desiring nothing more than to fight with them in field rounge, dispatched that night a messenger with a trompet, by whom he writ a cartell to the generall of their armie; wherein he gave them the lie, in that it was reported that wee dislodged from Lisbone in disorder and feare of them (which indeede was most false), for that it was five of the clock in the morning before wee fell into armes, and then went in such fort as they had no courage to followe out upon us. Also he challenged him therein to meete him the next morning with his whole armie, if he durst attend his comming, and there to trie out the justnes of their quarrell by battaile: by whom also the Earle of Effex (who, preferring the honor of the cause, which was his countries, before his owne safetie) sent a particuler cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie; or, if they would not admit of that, fixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoynt, should meete so many of theirs in the head of our battaile to trie their fortunes with them, and that they should have assurance of their returne and honorable intreatie.

The Generall accordingly made all his armie readie by three of the clocke in the morning, and marched even to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a fodaine feare that we had been come upon them, as the Generall was the next daye certainly informed: so as the

trumpet followed them to Lisbone, but could not get other answere to either of his letters, but threatening to bee hanged for daring to bring such a message: howbeit the Generall had caused to bee written uppon the backside of their pass-port, that if they did offer any violence unto the messengers, he would hang the best prifoners he had of theirs; which made them to advise better of the matter, and to returne them home, but without answere.

After our armie came to Cascais, and the castle summoned, the Castillan thereof graunted that upon five or fixe shot of the cannon he would deliver the same, but not without fight thereof. The Generall, thinking that his distresse within had been such for want of men or victualls, as he could not hold it many daies, because he saw it otherwise defencible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessitie, than to bring the cannon, and therefore onlie set a gard upon the same, least anie supplie of those things which hee wanted should be brought unto them. But he still standing upon those conditions, the Generall, about two daies before he determined to goe to sea, brought three or four peeces of batterie against it; upon the first fire whereof he rendered, and compounded to go away with his bagagge and armes: he had one cannon, two culverings, one basiliske, and three or foure other field-peeces, three score and five souldiers, verie good store of munition and victualls enough in the castle; insomuch as hee might have held the same longer than the Generall had purpose to tarie there. One companie of foot men was put into the garde thereof til the artillarie was taken out, and our armie embarked, which, without having that fort, we could not without great perill have done. When we

were readie to fet faile (one half of the fort being, by order from the Generall, blown up by myne) the companie was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the road our fleete began, the second of June, and so continued fixe daies after, to fetch in some hulks to the number of 60 of Danzik, Staten, Rastock, Lubec, and Hamburgh, laden with Spanish goods, and, as it seemed, for the Kings provision, and going for Lisbone. Their principal lading was corne, mastes, cables, copper, and waxe; amongst which were some of great burthen, wonderfull well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the King's provision, to reinforce his decayed navie: whereof there was the greatest likelihood in that the owners of the greatest of them, which carried two misnes, was known to be verie inward with the Cardinall, who, rather than hee would be taken with his ships, committed himself unto his small boate, wherein he recovered S. Sebastians. Into the which our men, that before were in fleeboates, were shipped, and the fleeboates sent home with an offer of corne to the value of their hire. But the wind being good for them for Rochel, they chose rather to lose their corne than the winde, and so departed. The General also sent his horses with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of June, Colonell Devereux and Colonell Sidney being both verie sicke, departed for England, who in the whole journey had shewed themselves verie forward in all services, and in their departure verie unwilling to leave us: that day we embarked all our armie, but lay in the road until the eight thereof.

The sixt day the Earle of Essex, upon receipt of letters from her Majesty by them that brought in the victuals, presentlie departed towards England ; with whom Sir Roger Williams was verie desirous to go, but found the generals verie unwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place to them, and, if they should miscarrie, was to command the armie. And the same day there came unto us two small barkes that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of England with victuals, which were passed upwards to the Cape ; for meeting with whom the second day after wee set saile for that place, in purpose, after our meeting with them, to go to the Iles of Açores : the second day, which was the ninth, wee met them coming backe againe towards us, whose provision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding, wee resolved to continue our course for the ilands.

About this time was the Marchant Royal, with three or foure other shippes, sent to Penicha to fetch away the companies that were left there ; but Captaine Barton, having received letters from the Generalls that were sent overland, was departed before, not being able, by reason of the enemies speedie marching thither, either to bring away the artillarie or all his men, according to the directions those letters gave him ; for hee was no sooner gone than the enemy possessed the towne and castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

At this time also was the Ambassador from the Emperour of Moroco, called Hamet Bencasamp, returned ; and with him Master Ciprian, a gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Antonio and Captaine Ousley from the General to the Emperour.

The next morning the nine gallies which were sent not five daies before out of Andalusia for the strengthening of the river of Lisbon (which, being joyned with the other twelve that were there before, though wee lay hard by them at S. Julians, durst never make any attempt against us upon our departure from thence) were returning home, and in the morning, being a verie dead calme, in the dawning thereof fell in the winde of our fleete, in the uttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling barke of Plymouth, of the which, Captaine Calverley being captaine of the land companie, with his lieutenant, the master, and some of the mariners, abandoned the ship, and betooke them to the ship boates; whereof one, in which the master and the captain were, was overrun with the gallies, and they drowned. There was also two hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to us, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their boates to have relieved them, but could not be recovered: in one of which was Captaine Minshaw, with his companie, who fought with them to the last, yea, after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discerne, but might easilie judge, by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustaine much losse; who, setting also upon one other hulk, wherein was but a lieutenant, and he verie like, were by the valour of the lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their artillarie, and attempted to board her. And seeing, also, one other hulke a league off, afterne of us, they made towards her, but finding that she made readie to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her; whereby it seemed their losse being

great in the other fights, they were loath to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19 of June our direction from the Generall was, that if the winde were northerlie wee should plie for the Açores, but if southerlie for the Iles of Bayon. Wee lay with contrarie windes about that place and the Rocke till the southerlie wind prevailing carried us to Bayon, part of our ships, to the number of 25, in a greate winde, which, two dayes before, having lost the Admiralls and fleete, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon; among whome was Sir Henrie Norris, in the Ayde, who had in purpose (if the Admiralls had not come in), with some 500 men out of them all, to have landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleete helde with Generall Drake, who, though he were two dayes before put uppon those ilandes, cast off againe to sea for the Açores; but, remembring how unprovided he was for that journey, and seeing that he had lost manie of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the evening, where he passed up the river more than a mile above Vigo.

The next morning we landed as manie as were able to fight, which were not in the whole above 2000 men (for in the 17 dayes wee continued on board wee had cast manie of our men over boord), with which number the Colonell Generall marched to the towne of Vigo; neare the which when hee approached, hee sent Captaine Anthonie Wingfield, with a troope of shot, to enter one side of the same; who found upon everie streetes end a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned: for, having entered the towne, he found but one man therin, but might see them making way

before him to Bayon. On the other side of the towne entred Generall Drake, with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approach on that side (I thinke) made them leave the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine ships sent with the Vizeadmirall to lye close before the towne, to beate upon the same with their artillarie.

In the afternoone were sent 300, under the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henry Poure, to burne another village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borfis, and as much of the country as the day would give them leave to doo; which was a verie pleasant rich valley, but they burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the towne, both that and the next day, so as the countrey was spoyled seven or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the towne, but not anie thing els; for the other daies warning of the ships that came first in gave them a respite to carrie all away.

The next morning by breake of day the Colonell Generall (who, in absence of the Generalls that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shore) caused all our companies to be drawn out of the towne, and sent two troops to put fier in everie house of the same; which done we embarked againe.

This day there were certaine marriners (without anie direction) put themselves on shoare, on the contrarie side of the river from us, for pillage; who were beaten by the enemy from their boates, and punished by the Generalls for their offer in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon were before shewed to bee want of artillarie, and may now

be alledged to be the small number of our men, who should have gone against so strong a place, manned with verie good fouldiers; as was shewed by Juan de Vera, taken at the Groyne, who confessed that there were 600 olde fouldiers in garrison there, of Flanders and the Tercios of Naples, lately returned out of the journey of England under the leading of

Capitan Puebla.

Christofero Vasques de Viralta, a fouldier of Flanders.

Don Petro Camascho, de tercio de Naples.

Don Francisco de Cespedes.

Capt. Juan de Solo, de tercio de Naples.

Don Diego de Cassava.

Capt. Sanban.

Also, he saith there be 18 peeces of brasse, and foure of yron, lately layd upon the walls of the towne, besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generalls, seeing what weake estate our armie was drawn into by sicknesse, determined to man and victuall 20 of the best ships for the Isles of Açores, with Generall Drake, to see if he could meete with the Indian fleete, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest. And, for the shifting of the men and victualls accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Islands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that daye. But Generall Drake, according to their appoyntment being under sayle, never strooke at the islandes, but put straight to sea; whom all the fleete followed, saving 33, which being in the river further than he, and at the enterance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast anker there for that night: amongst

whom, by good fortune, was the Foresight, and in her Sir Edward Norris. And the night following, Generall Norris being driven from the rest of the fleet by a great storme (for all that daye was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came agayne into the islands, but not without great perill, hee being forced to trust to a Spanish fisherman (who was taken two days before at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a councell of as manie as he found there, holding the purpose he had before concluded with Sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for England, tarying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall as were left in wonderfull distresse, by having victualls that came last carried away the day before to sea.

The next day he set sayle, and the tenth day after, which was the second of July, came into Plymouth, where he found Sir Francis Drake, and all the Queenes ships, with manie of the others, but not all; for the fleet was dispersed into other harbors, some lead by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some, being possessed of the hulkes, sought other ports from their Generals eye, wher they might make their private commoditie of them, as they have done to their great advantage.

Presently upon their arrivall there, the Generals dissolved all the armie, saving 8 companies, which are yet held together, giving everie souldier five shillings in money and the armes he bare to make money of, which was more than could by anie meanes be due unto them; for they were not in service three months, in which time they had their victualls, which no man will value at lesse than halfe their

pay; for such is the allowance in her Majesties ships to her marriners, so as there remained but ten shillings a month more to be paid, for which there was not any private man but had apparell and furniture to his own use; so as everie common souldier discharged receaved more in money, victuals, apparell, and furniture than his pay did amount unto.

Notwithstanding, there be, even in the same place wher those things have passed, that either doo, or will not conceive the souldiers estate by comparing their povertie and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some injuries upon the Generalls and the action. Where, and by the way, but especiallie here in London, I finde there have been some false prophets gone before us, telling straunge tales. For as our countrey doth bring forth manie gallant men, who, desirous of honour, doo put themselves into the actions thereof, so dooth it manie more dull spirited, who, though their thoughtes reach not so high as others, yet doo they listen how other mens acts doo passe, and eyther beleaving what anie man will report unto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or, tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted truth. The one sort of these do take their opinions from the high way side, or at the fardest goe no farther than Paules to enquire what hath been done in this voyage: where if they meete with anie whose capacitie before their going out could not make them live, nor their valour maintain their reputation, and who went onely for spoyle, complayning on the hardnesse and miserie thereof, they thinke they are bound to give credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in verie charitie become of their opinions. The others, to

make good the faction they are entred into, if they see anie of those malecontents (as everie journey yeeldeth some) doo runne unto them, like tempting spirits, to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresawe before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleeving everie report, for you see there have been many more beholders of these things that have passed, than actors in the same; who, by their experience, not having the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, have thought that to be hard not to have their meate well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine was a miserable thing; and not having so given their minds to the service as they are anything instructed thereby, doo, for want of better matter, discourse ordinarilie of these things; whereas the journey (if they had with that judgment seen into it, and as their places required) hath given them farre more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and mislikings, before our comming home, have made me labour thus much to instruct you in the certaintie of everie thing, because I would not willinglie have you miscarried in the judgments of them; wherein you shall give me leave somewhat to delate upon a question, which I onlie touched in the beginning of my letter; namelie, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintaine an offensive warre against the King of Spaine in the Lowe Countries, or, as in this journey, to offend him in his nearer territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this journey have given us.

There is no good subject that will make question whether

it bee behoofefull for us to hold friendship with these neighbours of ours or no, as well in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with us or against us, as of the commoditie of their harbors, especialle that of Vlishing, by the favour whereof our navie may continuallie keepe the Narrow Seas, and which would harbour a greater fleete against us than the Spaniard shall neede to annoy us withall; who being now distressed by our common enemy, I think it most expedient for our safety to defend them, and it may bee to give them a re-entrie into that they have of late yeares lost unto him. The one, without doubt, her Majestie may doo without difficultie, and in so honorable sort as he shall never be able to dispossesse her, or them, of any the towns they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may bee expelled from thence more speedilie or convenientlie by keeping an armie there, than by sending one against him in his own countrie, let him foresee of how many men, and continuall supplies, that armie must consist, and what intollerable expences it requireth. And let him thinke, by the example of the Duke of Alva, when the Prince of Orrange had his great armie against him, and of Don Jon when the States had their mightie assemblie against him, how this wise enemy, with whom wee are to deale, may, but by prolonging to fight with us, leave us occasions enough for our armie within fewe moneths to mutine and breake, or by keeping him in his townes leave us a spoyled field; where, though our provisions may be such of our own as wee starve not, yet is our weaknes in any strange countrie such, as with sicknes and miserie we shall be dissolved. And let him not forget what a continuall burthen wee hereby lay upon us, in that to

repoffesse those countries which have been lately lost will be a warre of longer continuance than wee shall be able to endure.

In the verie action whereof what should hinder the King of Spaine to bring his forces home unto us? For it is certaine that he hath long since sat downe in councell, that there is no way for him whollie to recover those Lowe Countries, but by bringing the warre uppon England it selfe, which hath alwaies assisted them against him; and that being determined, and whereunto he hath been vehementlie urged by the last yeeres losse he sustained uppon our coasts, and the great dishonor this journey hath laid uppon him, no doubt, if wee shall give him respite to doo it, but he will mightelie advance his purpose, for he is richlie able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of revenge.

To encounter wherewith I wish, even in true and honest zeale to my countrie, that wee were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busie him with a well-furnished armie in Spaine, which hath so many goodlie bayes open, as wee may land without impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such an invasion. And having an armie of twentie thousand royallie furnished there, we shall not neede to take much care for their paiment; for shall not Lisbone be thought able to make a few men rich, when the suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches as, had wee madeemie of them, they had largely enriched us all? Which with what small losse it may be wonne is not here to shewe; but why it was not wonne by us I have herein shewed you. Or is not the spoyle of Civill sufficient to pay more than shall be needful to be sent against it, whose defence (as that of Lisbone) is

onlie force of men, of whom how many may for the present be raised is not to be esteemed, because wee have discovered what kinde of men they bee; even such as will never abide ours in field, not dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours against them: for during the time wee were in many places of their countrie, they cannot say that ever they made twentie of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfy our forces?

But admit that if upon this alarme that we have given him, he, tending his naturall and nearest foyle before his further removed off governments, do drawe his forces of old fouldiers out of the Low Countries for his own defence, is not the victorie then wonne by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should have kept an armie there at a charge by many parts greater than this, and not stirred them?

Admit, further, our armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the sea and possessing his principall roades, are wee not in possibilitie to meete with his Indian merchants, and verie like to prevent him and his provisions comming out of the east countries? without the which neither the subject of Lisbone is long able to live, nor the King able to maintain his navie: for though the countrey of Portingall doo some yeres finde themselves corne, yet are they never able to victuall the least part of that citie. And albeit the King of Spaine be the richest Prince in Christendome, yet can he neyther draw cables, hew mafts, nor make powder of his mettalls, but is to bee supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will hold opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they are not our enemies;

and that our difagreeance with them will impeach the trade of our merchants and so impoverish our countrey. Of whose minde I can hardly be drawn to be; for if my enemy fighting with me doo breake his sword, so as I thereby have the advantage against him, what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kill me withal? And may it not be thought more fitting for us in these times to loose our trades of cloath, than, by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard whether we shall have a countrey left to make cloth in or no? And yet, though neether Hamburgh, Embden, nor Stode doo receive our cloth, the necessarie use thereof in all places is such, as they will finde meanes to take it from us with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that wee damnifie him neither at sea nor land (for unlesse it bee with a much more mightie armie than ours he shall never be able to withstand us), yet shal wee, by holding him at his home, free our selves from the warre at our own walls; the benefite whereof let them consider that best can judge, and have observed the difference of invading and being invaded, the one giving courage to the souldier in that he dooth set before him commoditie and reputation, the other a fearful terror to the country man, who, if by chaunce hee play the man, yet is he never the richer, and who, knowing many holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all before he put his life in perill by fighting; whereas the invader casteth up his accompt before he goeth out, and, being abroad, must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust unto. I will not say what I observed in our country men, when the enemy offered to affaile us here; but I wish that all England knewe what

terror we gave to the same people, that frightened us, by visit-
ing them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mighty Darius onely, in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of Persia, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knewe no safer waye to save himselfe than by fighting? Whereas the Persians, either trusting to continue still masters of their wealth by yeelding to the invador, began to practise against their owne king; or having more inward hopes, did hide themselves even to the last, to see what course the conquerour would take in his conquest. And did not the advice of Scipio, though mightely impugned at the first, prove verie sound and honorable to his countrey; who, seeing the Romanes wonderfully amazed at the nearnesse of the enemies forces, and the losses they dayly sustained by them, gave counsaile, rather by way of diversion, to carrie an armie into Affricke, and there to assaile, than by defensive warre at home to remaine subject to the common spoyles of an assailing enemy? Which, being put in execution, drew the enemy from the gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph; albeit his beginnings at the first were not so fortunate against them as ours have been in this small time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof maye encourage us to take armes resolutely against him; and I beseech God it may stirre up all men that are particularly interested therein, to bethinke themselves how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a baye so farre off: whereas, if wee give him leave quietly to hatch and bring forth his preparations, it will bee with danger to us all.

He taketh not armes againſt us by anie pretence of title to the crowne of this realme, nor led altogether with an ambitious deſire to command our countrey, but with hatred towards our whole nation and religion. Her Majeſties ſcepter is already given by Bull to another ; the honours of our nobilitie are beſtowed for rewardes upon his attendants ; our clergie, our gentlemen, our lawyers, yea, all men of what condition ſoever are offered for ſpoyle unto the common ſouldier. Let everie man, therefore, in defence of the libertie and plentie he hath of long enjoyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the ſmalleſt part of their ſtore for the affurance of the reſt. It were not much for everie juſtice of peace, who by his blewe coate protecteth the properreſt and moſt ſerviceable men, at everie muſter, from the warres, to contribut the charge that one of theſe idle men doo put him to for one yere : nor for the lawyer, who riſeth by the diffentions of his neighbors, to take but one yeares giſtes (which they call fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder everie officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Majeſties courtes, who without checke doo ſodainlie grow to great wealth, honeſtly to bring forth the myſticall commoditie of one yeres profites ? Or the clergie, who looke preciſely for the tenths of everie mans increaſe, ſimply to bring forth the tenth of one yeares gathering, and, in thankfulnes to her Majeſtie (who hath continued for all our ſafeties a moſt chargeable warre both at land and ſea) beſtowe the ſame, for her honour and their owne affurance, uppon an armie which may make this bloodie enemy ſo to knowe himſelfe and her Majeſties power as hee ſhall be-thinke him what it is to moove a ſtirring people ? Who, though they have received ſome ſmall checke by the ſick-

nesse of this last journey, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowne that the like voyage were to be supported by a generalitie (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample provision) but there would of all sortes most willingly put themselves into the same; some caried with an honorable desire to be in action, and some in love of such would affectionately follow their fortunes: some in thirsting to revenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kindred, and friends; and some, in hope of the plentiful spoyles to be found in those countreyes, having been there already and returned poore, would desire to goe againe with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud nation, and in contemplation of the true honour of our own, would with courage take armes to hazard their lives against them whom everie good Englishman is in nature bound to hate as an implacable enemy to England, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring us under the yoke of perpetuall slavery.

Against them is true honour to be gotten, for that wee shall no sooner set foote in their land, but that every steppe we tread will yield us newe occasion of action; which I wish the gallantrie of our countrie rather to regarde, than to followe those soft unprofitable pleasures wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three townes of Spaine is the wealth of all Europe gathered together, which are the magasins of the fruits and profits of the East and West Indies: wherunto I wish our young able men, who (against the libertie they are borne unto) terme themselves serving men, rather to bend their desires and affections, than to attend their double liverie and fortie

shillings by the yeare wages, and the reverſion of the old coppie-hold for carrying a diſh to his maſters table.

But let me here reprehend my ſelfe and crave pardon for entring into a matter of ſuch ſtate and conſequence, the care whereof is alreadie laid upon a moſt grave and honorable Councell, who will in their wiſedomes foreſee the dangers that may bee threatned againſt us. And why do I labour to diſquiet the ſecuritie of thoſe happie gentlemen, and the trade of thoſe honeſt ſerving men, by perſwading them to the warres, when I ſee the profeſſion therof ſo ſlenderlie eſteemed? For, though al our hope of peace be frustrate, and our quarrells determinable by the ſword; though our enemie hath, by his own forces and by his pensionaries induſtrie, confined the united Provinces into a narrowe rounge, and almoſt diſunited the ſame; if he be now in a good way to harbour himſelfe in the principall havens of France, from whence he may frunt us at pleaſure; yea, though wee are to hope for nothing but a bloudie warre, nor can truſt to any helpe but armes, yet how farre the common ſort are from reverencing or regarding any perſons of conduction was too apparent in the returne of this our journey, wherein the baſe and common ſouldier hath been tollerated to ſpeake againſt the captaine, and the ſouldier and captaine againſt the generalls; and wherein mechanicall, and men of baſe condition, doo dare to cenſure the dooings of them of whoſe acts they be not worthie to talke.

The auncient grave degree of the Prelacie is upheide, though Martin rayle never ſo much, and the lawyer is, after the olde manner worſhipped, whoſoever inveigh againſt him; but the auncient Engliſh honour is taken from our

men of warre, and their profession in disgrace, though never so necessarie. Either we commit idolatrie to Neptune, and will put him alone still to fight for us, as he did the last yere, or we be enchanted with some divellish opinions, that travaile nothing more than to diminish the reputation of them upon whose shoulders the burthen of our defence against the enemy must lie when occasion shall be offered. For, whensoever he shall set foote upon our land, it is neither the preaching of the clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any lawyers that can remove him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on; and then must those men stand betweene them and their perills, who are now thought unworthie of any estimation.

May the burning of one towne (which cost the King then being fixe times as much as this hath done her Majestie, wherein were lost seaven times as many men as in any one service of this journey, and tarried not the tenth part of our time in the enemies countrie) bee by our elders highly reputed, and sounded out by the historie of the realme, and can our voyage be so meanlie esteemed, wherein wee burned both townes and countries without the losse of fortie men in any such attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for overthrowing a number of poore Scots, who, after one battle lost, were never able to reenforce themselves against him? and shall they in this time, who have overthrowne our mightie enemy in battaile, and taken his royall standerd in the field, besieged the Marques of Saralba fifteen daies together, that should have been Generall of the armie against us, brought away so

much of his artillarie (as I have before declared) be unworthelie esteemed of?

Is it possible that some, in some times, should receive their reward for looking upon an enemy, and ours, in this time, not receive so much as thanks for having beaten an enemy at handie strokes?

But it is true that no man shall be a prophet in his countrey; and, for mine owne part, I will lay aside my armes till that profession shall have more reputation, and live with my friends in the countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to use them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But what! shall the blind opinion of this monster, a beast of many heads (for so hath the generalitie of old been termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I challenge some reputation, or diminish my love to my countrey, which hitherto hath nourished mee? No: it was for her sake I first tooke armes, and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to use them; not regarding how some men in private conventicles doo measure mens estimations by their own humours, nor how everie populer person doth give sentence on everie mans actions by the worst accidents; but attending the gracious aspect of our dread soveraigne, who never yet left vertue unrewarded, and depending upon the justice of her most rare and grave advisers, who, by their heedie looking into everie mans worth, doo give encouragement to the vertuous to exceede others in vertue; and assuring you that there shall never anything happen more pleasing unto me than that I may once againe be a partie in some honorable journey against the Spaniard in his owne countrey, I

will cease my complaint, and with them that deserve beyond me, patiently endure the unadvised censure of our malicious reprovers.

If I have seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome unto you in the discoursing of those impediments, and answering the flanders which, by the vulgar, malicious, and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes upon the journey, and reproaches upon the Generalls (having indeede proceeded from other heads), let the necessitie of conserving the reputation of the action in generall, and the honors of our Generalls in particuler, be my sufficient excuse; the one having, by the vertue of the other, made our countrie more dreaded and renowned than any act that ever England undertooke before. Or if you have thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end, let the affectionate desire of my countries good be therein answerable for me. And, such as it is, I pray you accept it as onely recommended to your selfe, and not to be delivered to the publique view of the world, least any man take offence thereat; which some particuler men may seeme justlie to doo, in that having deserved verie well, I should not herein give them their due commendations: whereas my purpose in this private discourse hath been onelie to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that have passed; wherein I have onelie taken notes of those men who either commanded everie service, or were of chieftest marke. If, therefore, you shall impart the same to one, and hee to another, and so it passe through many hands, I knowe not what constructions would be made thereof to my prejudice, for that the hares eares may happelie bee taken for hornes. Howbeit, I hold it verie necessarie (I must confesse) that there should bee

some true manifestation made of these things ; but bee it farre from me to be the author thereof, as verie unfit to deliver my censure of any matter publique, and most unwilling to have my weaknes discovered in private. And so doo leave you to the happie successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestlie wishing that there may bee some better acceptance made of the fruites of your studies, than there hath been of our hazards in the warres. From London the 30 of August. 1589.

FINIS.

Errors in sundrie names must thus be read.

Pag 16, lin. 31, reade *Santa Cruz* ; lin. 23 reade at *Madrid*. Pag 17, lin. 1, reade at *Madrid* ; lin. 2, reade Capt. Manço. Pag 21, lin. 12, reade Cap. *Sydenham*. Pag 29, lin. 8, reade at *Loriña* ; lin. 34-35 reade *los Cavalleros*. Pag 34, lin. 6, reade *Sant Vués*. Pag 45, lin. 29-31 read del Tercio de Napoles, lin. 34, reade Capt. Sauban.

A
QVIP FOR AN VP-
start Courtier:

OR,

A quaint dispute between Veluet-
breeches and Cloth-breeches.

*Wherein is plainly set downe the disorders in all
Estates and Trades.*



LONDON

Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, and are to bee sold at his
shop at Poules chayne. 1592.



INTRODUCTION. 81

THE pamphlet we have here reprinted was the *causa teterrima belli* between Robert Greene, the author of it, Gabriel Harvey, who was attacked in it, and Thomas Nash, who, after the death of Greene in Sept. 1592, took up the cudgels in his behalf: it was the commencement of the "fliting", which lasted for about five years, and was considered so important, and perhaps discreditable, as to be terminated by public authority, and the tracts on either side ordered to be burned.

The "Quip for an Upstart Courtier" was one of the latest productions of its author, and it bears date, as our readers will perceive, in 1592. It has been stated that it was printed and reprinted six times in the first year; but this is a mistake from confounding it with Nash's "Pierce Penniless," which the writer himself states did go "through the pikes" of six impressions in 1592. We have never been able to find more than three editions of Greene's "Quip" in its first year; and they all, more or less, differ. The one we have chosen is the earliest extant, and it has never been reprinted: the copy in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v, is certainly later, and it contains variations and emendations not found in our older copy, and some of which were intended to remedy or supply defects in it: one of these [between brackets] will be observed on our last page. No known copy of 1592, or of any other year, contains the passage against old Harvey as a Ropemaker, at which young Harvey took offence, and which he revenged, as far as was in his power, in his "Four Letters and certain Sonnets," which also bear date in 1592. Harvey asserts that Greene, in his expiring moments, would have given twenty shillings to suppress the objectionable lines; and certain it is that they were suppressed, and all that remains to us

reads very inoffensively as regards Harvey, the Ropemaker of Saffron Walden, and his three sons. We shall hereafter exactly reprint the "Four Letters," etc., and our readers will have already seen that what Nash wrote in his "Strange Newes" was intended to answer and irritate Gabriel Harvey, and to excuse and vindicate Greene.

The "Quip for an Upstart Courtier" was popular not only in this country but abroad: we have heard of a French translation of it, but we have never seen it: a Dutch one, printed at Leyden in 1601, is on our table while we write, and we were in hopes that from it we might obtain at least the sense of Greene's original attack upon the Harveys, but we have looked for it in vain: the tract is there called *Een seer vermakelik Proces tusschen Fluweelebroeck ende Laken-kroeck*. It follows the English sufficiently literally, but for convenience of reference each paragraph is there separately numbered.

Gabriel Harvey, when he was abusing Greene, then just dead, could not have known the fact, which we ascertained and published thirty years ago, that the whole substance of Greene's "Quip" was a plagiarism from a poem written by Francis Thynn and printed about the year 1580: had Harvey been aware of it, he could not have refrained from employing it against his adversary. Thynn's production is entitled "The Debate betweene Pride and Lowlines;" but as it was reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1841, it is not necessary that we should here dilate upon the dishonest manner in which Greene appropriated his original, adding little of his own to the language and invention of his humorous and clever predecessor. What Greene says about the Poet, near the close, is curious, because so much of the description was applicable to himself and to his conduct: it may be taken not merely as the portrait of a versifyer towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, but almost as a likeness of Greene himself.

J. P. C.

*To the Right Worshipful Thomas Barnabie Esquier
Robert Greene wisheth hartes ease,
and heavens blisse.*

SIR, after I had ended this Quippe for an upstart Courtier, contayning a quaint dispute betweene Cloth-breeches and Velvet breeches, wherein, under a dreame, I shadowed the abuses that Pride had bred in Englande, how it had infected the Court with aspiring envie, the Citie with griping covetousnesse, and the countrie with contempte and disdaine; how, since men placed their delights in proud lookes and brave atyre, hospitality was left off, neighbourhood was exciled, conscience was fkoft at, and charitie lay frozen in the streets; how upstart gentlemen, for the maintainance of that their fathers never lookt after, raifed rents, rackte their tenants, and imposed great fines, I stoode in a mafe to whome I shoulde dedicate my labours, knowing I should bee bitten by many, fithens I had toucht many, and therefore neede some woorthye Patrone, under whose winges I might shroud my selfe from goodman finde fault: at last I cald to mind your Worship, and thought

you the fittest of all my frends, both for duetie that I owe, and the woorshipfull qualities you are indued withall; as also for that all Northamptonshire reports how you are a father of the poore, a supporter of auntient hospitalitie, an enimie to pride, and, to be short, a maintayner of Cloth breeches (I meane the old and worthie customes of the gentilitie and yeomanrye of England). Induced by these reasons, I humbly present this phamplet to your Worship, only craving you wil accept it as courtiously as I present it dutifully, and then I have the end of my desire; and so, resting in hope of your favourable acceptance, I humbly take my leave.

Your duetifull adopted sonne,

ROBERT GREENE.

To the Gentlemen Readers health.

GENTLE Gentlemen, I hope Cloth breeches shall find you gentle censors of this homely Apologie of his auntient prerogatives, sith, though he speakes against Velvet breeches, which you we[a]re, yet he twits not the weede but the vice, not the apparell when tis worthily worn, but the unworthie person that weares it, who, sprang of a peasant, will use any sinister meanes to clime to preferment, being then so proude as the foppe forgets, like the asse, that a mule was his father. For auntient gentilitie and yeomanrie Cloth breeches attempteth this quarrell, and hopes of their favour: for upstarts he is halfe careles, and the more bicause he knowes, whatsoever some thincke privately, they will bee no publike carpers; least by kicking where they are toucht, they bewray their gald backs to the world, and by starting up to find fault, prove themselves upstarts and fooles. So then, poore Cloth-breeches fets downe his rest on the courtesie of gentle Gentlemen and bold Yeomen, that they will suffer him to take no wrong. But suppose the worst, that hee should be fround at, and

that such occupations as hee hath, uppon conscience, discarded from the Jury should commence an action of unkindnesse against him, heele prove it not to hold plea, because all the debate was but a dreame. And so, hoping all men will merrilie take it, he stands sollemnlie leaning on his pike staffe, till he heare what you conceive of him for being so peremptorie. If well, he swears to crack his hofe at the knees to quite your courtesie: if hardly, he hath vowed, that whatsoever he dreames, never to blab it againe; and so he wifheth me humbly to bid you farewell.

A quip for an upstart Courtier.

IT was juſt at that time when the Cuckoulds quirriſter began to bewray Aprill, Gentlemen, with his never chaunged notes, that I, damped with a melancholy humor, went into the fields to cheere up my wits with the freſh aire; where ſolitarye ſeeking to ſolace my ſelfe, I fell in a dreame, and in that drowſie ſlumber, I wandered into a vale all tapiftred with ſweete and choiſe flowers: there grew many ſimples whoſe vertues taught men to be ſubtill, and to thinke nature by her weeds warnd men to be wary, and by their ſecret properties to checke wanton and ſenſual imperfections. Amongſt the reſt ther was the yellow Daffadil, a flowre fit for jelous dottrels, who through the bewty of their honeſt wives grow ſuſpitiouſ, and ſo prove themſelves in the end cuckhold heritikes: there buded out the checkred Paunſie, or partly coloured hartes eaſe, an herbe ſildome ſeene either of ſuch men as are weded to ſhrewes, or of ſuch women that have haſty husbands; yet ther it grew, and as I ſtept to gather it, it ſlipt from me, like Tantalus fruit that failes their maifter. At laſt, wondring at this ſecret quality, I learned that none can weare it, be they kinges, but ſuch as deſire no more then they are borne too, nor have their wiſhes above their fortunes. Uppon a banke, bordring by, grewe womens weedes, Fenell I meane for flatterers, fit generally for that ſexe,

fith, while they are maidens, they with wantonly; while they are wives they will wilfully; while they are widowes, they would willingly; and yet all these proud desires are but close deffemblings. Neere adjoining sprouted out the courtiers comfort, Time, an herb that many stumple on, and yet overslip, whose rancke favor and thick leaves have this pecular propertie, to make a snaile, if she tast of the fappe, as swift as a swallow, yet joined with this prejudice, that if she climbe to hastily, she fals too soddenly. Mee thought I saw divers yong courtiers tread uppon it with high disdaine, but as they past away, an adder, lurking there, bit them by the heeles that they wept: and then I might perceive certaine clownes in clowted shoone gather it, and eate of it with greedinesse; which no sooner was funke into their mawes, but they were metamorphosed, and lookt as proudlye, though pesants, as if they had beene borne to be princes companions.

Amongst the rest of these changelinges, whome the tast of Time had thus altered, there was some that lifted their heads so high, as if they had been bred to looke no lower then stars: they thought *Noli altum sapere* was rather the faying of a foole, then the censure of a philosopher, and therefore stretcht themselves on their tiptoes, as if they had been a kindred to the Lord Tiptoft, and began to disdaine their equals, scorne their inferiours, and even their betters, forgetting nowe that time had taught them to say masse, howe before they had playde the clarks part to say Amen to the priest. Tush! then they were not so little as gentlemen, but their owne conceipte was the heralde to blason their descente from an old house, whose great grandfathers would have bin glad of a new cottage to hide their heades

in. Yet, as the peacocke, wrapte in the pride of his bea-
tious fethers, is knowne to be but a dunghill birde by his
foule feete, so though the high lookes and costly futes
argue to the eies of the world they were cavaliers of great
worship, yet the churlish illiberality of their mindes bewraide
their fathers were not above three poundes in the kinges
bookes at a subsidie : but as these upstart changelings went
strouting like Philopolimarchides, the bragart in Plautus,
they lookte so proudly at the same that they stumbled on
a bed of Rue that grewe at the bottome of the banke
where the Time was planted, which fall upon the dew of so
bitter an herbe taught them that such proud peacockes as
over hastily out run their fortunes, at last to speedily fall
to repentaunce ; and yet some of them smild and said Rue
was called herbe grace, which though they scorned in their
youth, they might weare in their age, and it was never too
late to say *Miserere*.

As thus I stood musing at this time, borne broad, they
vanisht away, like Cadmus copesmates that sprang up of
vipers teeth, so that casting mine eie aside after them, I saw
where a crue of all estates were gathering flowers : what
kind they were I knewe not, but pretious I geste them in
that they pluckt them with greedinesse, so that I drew
towards them to be partaker of their profits : comming
neerer, I might see the weede they so wrangled for was a
little daper flowre, like a ground honnifuckle, called thrift,
praised generally of all, but practised for distillation but of
few. Amongst the crue that seemed covetous of this herbe,
there was a troope of old graibeards in velvet, fatten and
woorsted jackets, that stooped as nimbly to pluck it up by
the rootes as if their joynts had bene supled in the oile of

mifers skins: they spared no labor and paines to get and gather, and what they got they gave to certaine yong boies and girles, that stood behinde them with their skirtes and laps open to receive it; among whome some scattered it as fast as their fathers gathered it, wasting and spoiling it at their pleasure, which their fathers got with labour.

I thought them to be some herbalistes, or some apothecaries, that had imployed such paines to extract some rare quintessence out of this floure; but one standing by told me they were cormorantes and usurers, that gathered it to fill their cofers with. And whereto (quoth I) is it pretious? What is the vertue of it? Mary (quoth he) to qualifie the heat of insatiable mindes, that like the serpente Dipsas, never drinketh enough till they are so full they burste. Why then, saide I, the Divell burst them all; and with that I fell into a great laughter to see certaine Italionate Contes, humorous cavaliers, youthful gentlemen, and *Inamorati gagliardi*, that scornfully pluckt of it, and wore it a while as if they were wery of it, and at last left it, as to base a floure to put in their noseгаies. Others, that seemed *Homini di grand istima* by their lookes and their walkes, gathered earnestly and did pocket it up, as if they meant to keepe it carefully; but as they wer carreing it away, there met them a troupe of nice wantons, faire women, that like to *Lamiæ* had faces like angels, eies like stars, brestes like the golden frount in the Hesperides, but from the middle downewards their shapes like serpents. These with fyrenlike allurment so entised these quaint squires, that they bestowed all their flowers upon them for favours, they themselves walking home by beggars bushe for a pennance. Amongst this crue were lawyers, and they gathered the

Divell and all, but poore poets were thrust backe, and coulde not bee suffered to have one handfull to put amongst their withered garlands of baies, to make them glorious. But Hob and John of the country, they stept in churlishly in their high startups, and gathered whole sackfuls, inso-much they wore beefoms of Thrift in their hats like fore-horses, or the lusty gallants in a morice dance. Seeing the crue thus to wrangle for so paltry a weede, I went alone to take one of all the other fragrant flowers that diaped this vally; thereby I saw the Batchelers buttons, whose vertue is to make wanton maidens weepe, when they have worne it forty weekes under their aporns for a favour.

Next them grewe the deffembling daisie, to warne such light of love wenches not to trust every faire promise that such amorous batchelers make them; but sweete smels breed bitter repentaunce. Hard by grew the true lovers primrose, whose kind savour wisheth men to be faithfull and women courteous. Alongst in a border grew maiden hair, fit for modest maidens to behold, and immodest to blushe at, bicause it praiseth the one for their naturall tresses, and condemneth the other for their beastly and counterfeit perriwigs: there was the gentle gilliflowre that wives should weare, if they were not too froward; and loyall lavender, but that was full of cukoe spittes, to shew that womens light thoughts make their husbandes hevy heads: there were sweete lillies Gods plenty, which shewed faire virgins neede not weepe for wooers; and store of balme which could cure strang wounds, only not that wound which women receive when they loose their maidenheads; for no herbe hath vertue inough to scrape out that blot, and therefore it is the greater blemish.

Infinitt were the flowers beside that beautified the valley, that to know their names and operations I needed some curious herball; but I passe them over as needeleffe, sith the vision of their vertues was but a dreame, and therefore I wish no man to holde anye discourse herein authenticall; yet thus much I must say for a parting blow, that at the lower end of the dale I saw a great many women using high words to their husbandes, some striving for the breeches, other to have the last word, some fretting they could not find a knot in a rush, others striving whether it were wooll or haire the goat bare. Questioning with one that I met why these women were so cholericke? he, like a fkofing fellow, pointed to a bush of nettles: I, not willing to be satisfied by signes, asked him what he meant thereby? Mary, (quoth hee) al these women that you heare brawling, frowning and scolding thus, have severally pist on this bush of nettles; and the vertue of them is to force a woman that waters them to bee as peevish for a whole day, and as waspish as if she had bene stung in the brow with a hornet. Well, I smild at this, and left the company to seeke further; when, in the twincklinge of an eie, I was left alone, the valley cleered of all company, and I, a distressed man, desirous to wander out of that solitary place to seeke good confortes and boone companions to passe away the day withall.

As thus I walked forward, seeking up the hill, I was driven halfe into a mase with the imagination of a strang wonder which fell out thus. Mee thought I saw an uncouth headleffe thing come pacing downe the hill, stepping so proudly, with such a geometricall grace, as if some artificiall bragart had resolved to meafare the world with his

paces : I could not descrye it to bee a man, although it had motion, for that it wanted a body ; yet seeing legges and hose, I supposed it to bee some monster nurishte uppe in those desertes. At last, as it drew more nigh unto mee, I might percive that it was a very passing costly paire of Velvet-breeches, whose paines beeing made of the cheefest Neapolitane stufte, was drawn over with the best Spanish fatine, and marvellous curiously over whipt with gold twist, interseemed with knots of pearle : the netherstocke was of the purest Granado filke. No cost was spared to sett out these costly breeches, who had girt unto them a rapyer and dagger, gilt, point pendante, as quaintly as if som curious Florentine had trickte them up, to square it up and downe the streetes before his mistresse. As these breeches were exceeding sumptuous to the eie, so were they passing pompous in their gestures, for they strouted up and downe the vally, as proudly as though they had there appointed to act some desperate combat.

Blame mee not if I were driven into a muse with this most monstrous sight, to see in that place such a straunge headless Courtier, jettinge uppe and down like the usher of a fence-schoole about to play his prise, when I deeme never in any age such a woonderfull object fortunèd unto any man before. Well, the greater dumpe this novelty drave mee into, the more desire I had to see what event would follow : where upon, looking about to se if that any more company would com, I might perceive from the toppe of the other hill an other paire of breeches, more soberly marching, and with a softer pace, as if they were not hasty, and yet would keepe promise nevertheles at the place appointed. As soone as they were come into the

vallie, I sawe they were a plaine paire of Cloth-breeches, without either welt or garde, straight to the thigh, of white kerseie, without a flop, the nether-stocke of the same, sewed too above the knee, and onely seamed with a little Coventry blewe; such as in *diebus illis* our great gradfathers wore, when neighbour-hood and hospitality had banished pride out of England. Nor were these plaine breeches weaponlesse, for they had a good fower bat, with a pike in the end, able to laie on load inough if the hart were answerable to the weapon; and upon this staffe, pitcht downe upon the ground, Cloth-breeches stood solemnly leaning as if they meant not to start, but to answer to the uttermost whatsoever in that place might be objected. Looking upon these two, I might perceive, by the pride of the one and homely resolution of the other, that this their meeting would grow to some dangerous conflict; and therefore to prevent the fatall issue of such a pretended quarell, I stept betweene them both, when Velvet-breeches greeted Cloth-breeches with this salutation.

Proud and insolent pefant! how darest thou, without leave or low reverence, presse into the place where I am come for to disporte myselfe? Art thou not afraide thy high presumption should sommon me to displeasure, and so force me to draw my rapier, which is never unsheathed but it turnes to the scabberd with a triumph of mine enemies bloud? Bold bayard avant! beard mee not to my face. For this time I pardon thy folly, and grant thy legges leave to carry away thy life.

Cloth-breeches, nothing amased at this bravado, bending his staffe as if he ment (if he were wronged) to bestow his benifon, with a scornfull kind of smiling made this smooth reply.

Mary gippe, goodman upstart! who made your father a gentleman? Soft fire makes sweete mault: the curstest cow hath the shortest hornes, and a brawling curre of all bites the least. Alas! good fir, are you so fine that no man may bee your fellow? I pray you what difference is betweene you and mee, but in the cost and the making? Though you bee never so richly daubde with golde, and poudred with pearle, yet you are but a case for the buttockes, and a cover for the basest part of a mans body no more then I: the greatest preheminance is in the garnishing, and thereof you are proud; but come to the true use wee were appointed to, my honour is more then thine; for I belong to the old auncient yeomanry, yea and gentility, the fathers, and thou to a company of proud and unmannerly upstarts, the sonnes.

At this Velvet-breeches stormd and said: Why, thou beggers bratte, descended from the reversion of base povertie! is thy insolency so great to make comparifon with mee, whose difference is as great as the brightesse of the sonne, and the slender light of a candle? I, poore snake! am sprung from the ancient Romans, borne in Italy, the mistresse of the world for chivalrie, cald into England from my native home (where I was famous) to honour your country and young gentlemen heere in England with my countenance, where I am holden in high regarde, that I canne presse into the presence, when thou, poore soule, shalt with cap and knee beg leave of the porter to enter; and I sit and dine with nobility, when thou art faine to waite for the reversion of the almes basket. I am admitted boldly to tel my tale, when thou art fain to sue, by means of supplication, and that, and thou too, so little regarded

that most commonly it never comes to the princes hand, but dies imprisoned in som obscure pocket. Sith, then, there is so much difference between our estates, cease to urge my patience with thy insolent presumption.

Cloth-breeches, as breefe as he was proud, swore by the pike of his staffe that his choplogicke was not worth a pinne, and that he would turne his owne weapon into his bosome, thus: Why, *signor Glorioso*, (quoth he) though I have not such glosing phraze to trick out my speeches withall as you, I will come over your fallowes with this bad rethoricke. I pray you, Mounfier Malapert, are you therefore my superiour, because you are taken up with gentlemen, and I with the yeomanry? Doth true vertue consist in riches, or humanity in welth? Is an ancient honor tied to an outward brauery, or not rather true nobility, a minde excellently qualified with rare vertues? I will teach thee a lesson worth the hearing, proude princoks, how gentility first sprung up: I will not forget the old wives logick, when Adam delvd and Eve span, who was then the gentleman? but I tell thee, after the generall flood that there was no more men upon the earth but Noe and his three sonnes, and that Cham had wickedly discovered his fathers secrets, then grew the division of estates thus: The church was figured in Sem, gentility in Japheth, and labour and drudgerie in Cham. Sem being chaste and holy, Japheth learned and valiant, Cham churlish and servile; yet did not the curse extend so farre upon Cham, nor the blessing upon Japheth, but if the one altered his nature, and became either indued with learning or valour, hee might bee a gentleman, or if the other degenerated from his auntient vertues, hee might bee held a pefant: where-

upon Noe inferred that gentility grew not onely by propagation of nature, but by perfection of quality. Then is your worship wide that boast of your worth for your golde and pearle, sith *Cucullus non facit monachum*, nor a velvet sloop make a sloven a gentleman. And whereas thou saiest thou wert borne in Italy and caled hether by our courtiers, him may we curse that brought thee first into Englande; for thou camest not alone, but accompanied with multitude of abominable vices, hanging on thy bumbast nothing but infectious abuses and vaine glory, selfe love, sodomie and strange poisonings, wherewith thou hast infected this glorious Iland: yea, insolent bragert, thou hast defiled thine own neast, and fatal was the day of thy birth; for since the time of thy hatching in Italy, as then famous for chivalrey and learning, the imperiall state through thy pride hath decayed, and thou hast, like the younge pellican, peckt at thy mothers brest with thy presumption, causing them to lose that their forefathers with true honour conquèred: so hast thou beene the ruine of the Romane Empire, and now fatally art thou come into Englande to attempte heere the like subversion. Whereas thou doost boast that I am little regarded where thou art highly accounted of, and hast sufferaunce to presse into the presence, when I am for my simpleness shut out of dore, I grant thy alligation in part, but not in whole; for men of high wisdome and honour measure not men by the outward shewe of bravery, but by the inward worth and honesty; and so though I am disdained of a few overweening fooles, I am valued as well as thy selfe with the wise. In that thou saiest thou canst speake, when I sue by supplication, I grant it, but the tale thou telst is the ruine of the poore;

for comming into high favour with an impudent face, what farme is there expired, whose lease thou dooest not begge? what forfeite of penall statutes? what consealed landes canne overslip thee? Yea, rather then thy bravery should faile, begge powling pence for the smooke that comes out of poore mens chemnies. Shamest thou not, outlandish upstart, to heare me discourse thy imperfections? Get thee home againe into the owne country, and let mee, as I was wont, live famous in my native home in England, where I was borne and bred; yea, and bearded Cæsar, thy countryman, till hee compast the conquest by treason.

The right and title in this country, base brat (qd Velvet-breeches) now authority favours me, I am admitted viceroy, and I will make thee do me homage, and confesse that thou holdst thy beeing and residence in my land from the gracious favour of my sufferance:—and with that hee laid hold on the hilts of his rapier, and Cloth-breeches betooke him to his staff, when I, stepping betwixt them, parted them thus: Why what meane ye? Will ye decide your controversie by blowes, when you may debate it by reason? This is a land of peace, governed by true justiciaries and honorable magistrats, where you shall have equitie without parcialitie; and therefore listen to me and discusse the matter by lawe. Your quarell is, whether of you are most antient and most worthy: you, sir, boast of your country and parentage; he of his native birth in England: you claime all; he would have but his owne; both plead an absolute title of residence in this country: then, must the course betweene you bee trespasse or disseison of franke tenement. You, Velvet-breeches, in that you claime the first title, shall be plaintiffe, and plead a trespasse of disseison

doone you by Cloth-breeches : so shall it be brought to a jurye, and tried by a verdict of twelve or four and twenty.

Tush ! tush ! quoth Velvet-breeches, I neither like to bee plaintiffe, nor yet allow of the jury, for they may be partiall, and so condemne mee in my owne action ; for the country swaines cannot value of my worth, nor can mine honors come within the compasse of their base wits. Because I am a stranger in this land, and but heere latly arived, they will hold me as an upstart, and so lightly esteeme of my worthinesse ; and for my adversary is their countriman and lesse chargeable, hee shall have the lawe mitigated, if a jury of hinds or pefaunts should bee impanelled. If auncient gentlemen, yeomen or plaine ministers should bee of the quest, I were sure to lose the day, because they loath mee, in that I have perswaded so many landlordes, for the maintenance of my bravery, to raise their rents. You seeke a knot in a rush (qd I) : you neede not doubt of that, for whome you distrust and thinke not indifferent, him upon a cause manifested, challenge from your jury. If your lawe allowe such large favour (quoth Velvet-breeches) I am content my title bee tried by a jury ; and therefore let mine adversary plead mee *Nul tort nul disseison*. Cloth-breeches was content with this, and so they both agreed I should be judge and juror in this controversie : whereupon I wisht them to say for themselves what they could, that I might discourse to the jury what reasons they alledged of their titles.

Then Velvet-breeches began thus. I cannot but greeve that I should bee thus outfaced with a carters weede, onely fit for husbandry, seeing I am the originall of all honorable endeavours. To what end dooth youth bestow their witts on

lawe, phisick or theologie, were it not the end they aime at is the wearing of me and wining of preferment. Honor norisheth art, and for the regarde of dignity doo learned men strive to excede in their faculty.

*Impiger extremos currit Mercator ad Indos,
Per mare, per saxa, &c.*

What drives the marchants to seeke foren martes, to venter their goods and hazard their lives? Not, if still the end of their travell were a paire of Cloth-breeches: no; velvet, costly attire, curious and quaint apparell is the spur that prickes them forward to attempt such daunger. Doth not the Souldiors fight to bee brave, the Lawyer study to countenance himself with cost; the artificer takes paines only for my sake, that, wearing mee, he may brag it amongst the best: what credit carries he now adayes, that goes pind up in a cloth-breech? who will keepe him company that thinkes well of himselfe, unlesse hee use the simple slave to make cleane his shoone. The worlde is chaungde and men are growen to more witte, and their mindes to aspire after more honorable thoughts: they were dunces *in diebus illis*: they had not the true use of gentility, and therefore they lived meanely and died obscurely; but now mennes capacities are refined: time hath set a newe edge on gentlemens humors, and they shew them as they should be, not like gluttons, as their fathers did, in chines of beefe and almes to the poore, but in velvets, fattins, cloth of gold, pearle, yea, pearle lace, which scarfe Caligula wore on his birth day. And to this honorable humor have I brought these gentlemen since I came from Italy. What is the end of service to a man, but to countenance himselfe

and credite his maister with brave fuites? The scurvy tapsters and ostlers *sex populi* fill pots and rubbe horscheeles to prancke themselves with my glory. Alas! were it not to weare me, why would so many apply themselves to extraordinary idlenesse? Beside, I make fooles be reverent, and thought wise amongst the common sort. I am a severe sensor to such as offend the law, provided there be a penalty annexed that may bringe in some profit: yea, by me the chieft part of the realme is governed; and therefore I refer my title to the verdict of any mens judgement.

To this mildly Cloth-breeches answered thus:—As I have had alwaies that honest humor in mee to measure all estates by their vertues, not by their apparell, so did I never grudge at the bravery of any whom birth, time, place, or dignitie made worthie of such costly ornaments; but if by the favour of their prince and their owne desarts they merited them, I helde [it] both lawfull and commendable to answere their degrees in apparell, correspondent unto their dignities. I am not so precise directly to inveigh against the use of velvet, either in breeches or in other futes, nor will I have men goe, like John Baptist, in coates of camels hair. Let princes have their diademes, and Cæsar what is due to Cæsar: let noblemen goe as their birth requires, and gentlemen as they are borne or beare office. I speake in mine owne defence, for the auncient gentilitie and yeomandrie of Englande, and inveigh against none but such malapart upstarts as raised up from the plough or advanced for their Italian devises, or for their witleffe wealth, covet in bravery to match, nay, to exceede the greatest noblemen in this land. But leaving this digression, mounfier Velvet-breeches, againe to the particulers

of your fond allegation. Whereas you affirme your selfe to be both original and final end of learning: alas! proud princ Cox, you preach a bowe to hie: did all the philosophers beat their braines, and busie their wits to wear velvet breeches? Why, both at that time thou wert unknowne, yea unborne, and all excesse in apparell had in high contempt; and now in these daies all men of worth are taught by reading that excesse is a great sin, that pride is the first step to the downefall of shame. They study, with Tully, that they may seeme borne for their countryes as well as for themselves: the Divine to preach the Gospell; the Lawyer to reforme wronges and maintaine justice; the Phisition to discover the secretes of Gods woonders by working strange cures: to bee breefe, the end of all beeing is to knowe God, and not, as your worship, good maister Velvet-breeches, wrefts, to creepe into acquaintance.

I will not denie but there bee as fantasticall fooles as your selfe, that perhapes are puffed up with such presuming thoughts, and ambitiously aime to trick themselves in your worships masking futes; but while such climbe for great honours, they often fall to great shames. It may bee thereupon you bring in *Honor alit artes*; but I gesse your maister ship never tried what true honour meant, that trusse it uppe within the compasse of a paire of velvet-breeches, and place it in the arrogancy of the hart. No, no: say honor is idolatry, for they make fooles of themselves, and idols of their carcases: but he that valueth honor so, shall read a lecture out of Apuleius Golden Asse to learne him more wit. But now, sir, by your leave, a blowe with your next argument; which is, that marchants hazard their goods and lives to be acquainted with your maister ship.

Indeed, you are awry ; for wise men frequent marts from profit, not for pride, unlesse it be some that, by wearing of velvet breeches and apparell too high for their calling, have prooved banckerouts in their youth, and have beene glad in their age to desire my acquaintance, and to trusse up their tailes in home spun ruffet. Whereas thou dost object the valour of hardy soldiers to grow for the desire of brave apparell : tis false, and I knowe, if any were present, they would prove upon thy bones that thou wert a liar. For their countries good, their princes service, the defense of their friends, the hope of favour is the finall ende of their resolutions ; esteeming not only them, but the worlds glory, fickle, transitory and inconstant.

Shall I fetch from thine own country weapons to wound thy selfe withall ? What saiest thou to Cincinnatus ? Was not he called to be Dictator from the plough, and after many victories, what did he jet up and downe the court in costly garments and velvet breeches ? No ; he despised dignitie, contemned vaine glory and pride, and returned agayne to his quiet contented life in the country. How much did Caius Fabritius value their [them] ? Numa Pompilius, Scevola, Scipio, Epaminondas, Aristides ? they held themselves wormes meate, and counted pride vanity ; and yet thou art not ashamed to say thou art the ende of soldiours worthy honor. I tell the, sawcy skipjack, it was a good and a blessed time heer in England when K. Stephen wore a pair of cloth breeches of a noble a paire, and thought them passing costly : then did he count Westminster Hal but to little to be his dining chamber, and his almes was not bare bones in stead of broken meat, but lusty chines of beefe fel into the poore mans basket. Then

charitie florished in the Court, and young courtiers strove to exceede one an other in vertue, not in braverie : they rode not with fans to ward their faces from the wind, but with burgants to resist the stroke of a battleaxe : they could then better exhort a foldior to armor, then court a lady with amoretts : they caused the trumpette to found them pointes of warre, not poets to write them wanton eligies of love : they fought after honourable fame, but hunted not after fading honor : which distinction, by the way, take thus. There bee some that seeke honor, and some are fought after by honor : such upstarts as fetch their pedigree from their fathers auncient leather apron, and creep into the Court with great humility, redy at the first *Basciare li piedi di la vostra signioria*, having gotten the countenance of some nobleman, will strait be a kindred to Cadwaller, and sweare his great grand mother was one of the Burgessees of the Parliament House, will at last steale by degrees into some credite by their double diligence, and then winde some woorshipfull place as far as a hungry sow can smell a fir reverence, and then with their friends seeke, day and night, with coyne and countenance til they have got it. Others there be whome honor it selfe seekes, and such bee they whome vertue doth frame fit for that purpose, that rising up by high defarts, as learning or valour, merite more then eyther they looke for, or their prince hath anye ease conveniently to bestowe on them. Such honor seekes, and they with a blushing conscience entertain him, be they never so high in favour : yet they beg no office, as the shamelesse upstart doth, that hath a hungry eie to spie out, an impudent face to sue, and a flattering toong to intreat for some void place of worship, which little belonged to

them, if the prince intended to bestow offices for vertue not favour. Other, M. Velvet-breeches, there be of your crue, that pinch their bellies to polish their backs, that that keepe their mawes emptie to fill their purses, that have no shewe of gentility but a velvet slop, who by poul-ing, or selling of land that their fathers lefte, will bestowe all to buy an office about the Court that they may be worshipfull, extorting from the poore to raise uppe their money that the base deceiving companions have laid out to have an office of some countenance and credite, wherein they may have of mee, better then themselves, be tearmed by the name of worship. The last whome vertue pleadeth for, and neither silver, gold, frendes nor favour advanceth, be men of great worth, such as are thought of worship, and unwillingly entertaine her, rather vouchsafing profered honor for their countries cause, then for any proud opinion of hoped preferment.

Blessed are such landes whose officers are so placed, and where the prince promoteth, not for coine or countenance, but for his worthy deserving vertues. But leaving this by talke, me thought I heard you say, Signior Velvet-breeches, that you were the father of mechanicall actes, and handicraftes were found out to foster your bravery. In faith, goodman Gofescape, you that are come from the startups, and therefore is called an upstart, *quasi* start up from clowted shoone, your lips hunge in your light when you brought forth this logicke; for, I hope, there is none so simple, but knowes that handicraftes and occupations grew for necessity, not pride; that mens inventions waxed sharpe to profite the common wealth, not to prancke up themselves in bravery. I pray you, when Tubalcane invented

tempring of mettals, had he velvet breeches to weare? In fadnesse where was your woorship when his brother found out the accordes and discordes of musicke hidden in hell, and not yet thought on by the Devill, to cast forth as a baite to bring many proud fooles to ruine?

Indeed, I cannot denie but your worship hath brought in deceit as a journeyman into all companies, and made that a subtil craft, which, while it was holden in esteeme, was but a simple misterie: now every trade hath his sleighes, to flubber up his worke to the eie, and to make it good to the sale, howsoever it prooves in the wearinge. The shoemaker cares not if his shooes hold the drawing on: the tailor sows with hot needle and burnt thred. Tushe! pride hath banisht conscience, and velvet-breeches honestie, and every servile drudge must ruffle in his filkes, or else he is not futeable.

The world was not so *a principio*, for when velvet was worne but in kinges caps, then conscience was not a brome man in Kent streat, but a courtier; then the farmer was content his sonne should hold the plough, and live as he had done before: beggars then feared to aspire, and the higher sortes scorned to envie. Now every lowt must have his sonne a courtnoll, and those dunghill drudges waxe so proud, that they wil presume to wear on their feet what kings have worne on their heades. A clownes sonne must be clapt in a velvet pantofle, and a velvet breech, though the presumptuous asse be drownd in the Mercers booke, and make a convey of all his lands to the usurer for commodities: yea, the fop must goe like a gallant for a while, although at last in his age hee begge. But, indeede, such young youths, when the broker hath blest them with sainte

Needams croffe, fall then to privy listes and cosenages, and when their credit is utterly crackt, they practise some bad shift, and so come to a shamefull ende.

Lastly, whereas thou saist, thou art a severe sencer to punish sins, as austere as Cato to correct vice, of truth I hold thee so in penal statutes, when thou hast begged the forfeite of the prince : but such correction is open extortion and oppression of the poore ; nor can I compare it better, M. Velvet-breech, then to the wolfe chastising the lambe for disturbing their fountaine, or the Devill casting out Devils through the power of Belsebub. And thus much, courteous sir, I have said to display the follies of mine adversary, and to shewe the right of mine owne interest.

Why, then, quoth I, if you have both saide, it resteth but that wee hadde some to empanell upon a jury, and then, no doubt, but the verdict would soone bee given on one side.

As thus I was talking to them, I might see comming downe the hill a brave dapper Dicke, quaintly attired in velvet and fatten, and a cloake of cloth rash, with a cambricke ruffe, as smoothly set, and he as neatly spunged, as if he had been a bridgrome ; only I gest by his pace a farre off he should be a tailor, his head was holden uppe so pert, and his legges shackle hamd, as if his knees had been laced to his thighes with points. Comming more neere, indeed, I spied a tailors morice pike on his brest, a Spanish needle, and then I fitted my salutations, not to his futes, but to his trade, and incountred him by a thread bare courtesie, as if I had not knowne him, and asked him of what occupation he was ? A taylor, quoth he. Marry then, my freend, quoth I, you are the more welcome, for heere is a

greate quarrell growne betwixt Velvet-breeches and Cloth-breeches for their prerogative in England: the matter is growne to an issue; ther must a jury be empannelled, and I would desire and intreat you to be one of the quest.

Not so, quoth Cloth-breeches: I challenge him. And why? quoth I. What reason have you? doth he not make them both? Yes, quoth hee, but his gaine is not alike. Alas! by me he getteth small: onely hee is paid for his workmanship, unlesse by misfortune his shieres flipp awry, and then his vailes is but a shred of home-spunne cloth; whereas in makinge of velvet breeches, where there is required filcke lace, cloth of golde, of silver, and such costly stuffe, to welte, garde, whipp-ftitch, edge, face and draw out, that the vales of one velvet breeche is more then twenty payre of mine. I hope there is no taylor so precise, but he can play the cooke and licke his owne fingers: though he looke up to heaven, yet hee can cast large shreds of such rich stuffe into hell under his shop-boord. Besides, hee setteth downe, like the Clarke of the Checke, a large bill of reckonings, which for he keepes longe in hys pocket, he so powders for stinking, that the yoong upstart, that needes it, feels it salt in his stomack a month after. Beside, sir, Velvet-breeches hath advanft him; for whereas in my time he was counted but goodman Taylor, now hee is growne, since velvet-breeches came in, to be called a marchant, or Gentleman Marchant Taylor, gevinge armes and the holy Lamb in his creast, where before hee had no other cognifance but a plaine Spanish needle, with a Welsch Cricket on the top. Sith, then, his gaine is so greate, and his honour so advaunft by Velvet-breeches, I will not trust his conscience, nor shall he come uppon my jury.

Indeed, you have some reason, quoth I ; but perhaps the tailor doth this upon meer devotion to punish pride, and, having no other authority nor meane, thinkes it best to pinche them by the purse, and make them pay well, as to aske twise so much filke lace, and other stufte as would suffice, and yet to over reach my yong maister with a biil of reckoning that will make him scratche where it itcheth not. Heerein I hold the taylor for a necessary member to teach yoonge novices the way to weeping crosse, that when they have wasted what their fathers lefte them by pride, they may grow sparing and humble by inforced povertie ; and by this reason the tailor plaies Gods part : he exalteth the poore and pulleth downe the proud ; for of a wealthy esquiers sonne hee makes a threedbare begger ; and a scornefull tailor hee lifts up an upstart scurvy gentleman. Yet, seeing you have made a reasonable challenge to him, the tailor shall bee none of the quest.

As I bad him stand by, there was comming alongst the valley towards us a square set fellow, well fed, and as briskly apparelled in a black taffata dublet and spruce leather jerkin, with christall buttons, a cloake fast a fore with velvet, and a Coventry cap of the finest wool ; his face somthing ruby blush, cherry-cheeked, like a shreed of scarlet, or a little darker like the lees of old claret wine : a nose *autem* nose, purpled preciously with pearle and stone, like a counterfeit worke ; and betweene the filthy reumicast of his bloudshotten snout there appeared smale holes, whereat wormes heads peeped, as if they meant by their appearance to preach, and shewe the antienty and antiquity of his house.

This fiery fast churle had upon his fingers as many gold

rings as would furnish a goldsmiths shop, or besee me a pandor of long profession to weare. Wondring what companion this should bee, I inquired of what occupation he was? Marry, sir, quoth hee, a broker: why do you aske? have you any pawnes at my house? No, quoth I, nor, by the helpe of God, never will have; but the reason is to have you upon a jury. At this word, before I could enter my discourse unto him, Velvet-breeches start up, and swore hee should be none of the quest: he would challenge him. And why? quoth I: what know you by him? This base churle is one of the moaths of the common wealth: hee is the spoile of young gentlemen, a blood sucker of the poore, as thirsty as a horse leach, that will never leave drinking while he burst; a knave that hath intrest in the leases of forty bawdy houses, a receiver for lifts, and a dishonorable supporter of cutpurfes: to conclude, hee was gotten by an Incubus, a he Divell, and brought forth by an overborne refuse, that had spent her youth under the ruines of Bowbies Barne.

O monstrous invective! quoth I. What reason have you to bee thus bitter against him? Oh! the villaine, quoth hee, is the Divells factor, sent from Hell to torment young gentlemen upon earth: he hath fetcht me over in his time, onely in pawnes, in ten thousand pound in gold. Suppose, as gentlemen, through their liberall mindes may want that I need, money, let mee come to him with a pawne worth ten pound, hee will not lend upon it above three pound, and he will have a bill of faile, and twelve pence in the pound every month; so that it comes to sixteen pence, sith the bill must be monthly renued, and if you breake but your day, fet down in the bill of faile, your pawne is lost, as full

bought and sold, you turnd out of your goods, and he an unconscionable gainer. Suppose the best: you keepe your day, yet paying sixteen pence a month for twenty shillings, you pay as good for the lone as fower score in the hundred. Is not this monstrous exacting upon gentlemen? Beside, the knave will be diligently attending and waiting at dicing houses, where wee may be at play, and there hee is ready to lend the looser money uppon ringes and chaines, apparell or any other good pawne; but the poore gentleman payes so deere for the lavender it is laid up in, that if it lie long at a brokers house, hee seemes to buy his apparell twise: nay, this worme eaten wretch hath deeper pitfalls yet to intrap youth in; for hee beeing acquainted with a young gentleman of faire living, in issue of good parents or assured possibility, sooths him in his monstrous expenses, and saies he carries the mind of a gentleman, promising if hee want, hee shall not lack for a hundred pounds or two, if the gentleman need: then hath my broker an usurer at hand, as ill as himself, and hee brings the money; but they tie the poore soule in such Darbies bandes, what with receiving ill commodities and forfeitures uppon the bonde, that they dub him Sir John Hadlande before they leave him, and share like wolves the poore novices wealth betwixt them as a pray. Hee is (fir), to bee breefe, a bowfie, bawdy miser, good for none but himselfe and his trug; a carle that hath a filthy carcasse without a conscience, a body of a man wherein an infernall spirit, in steed of a soule, dooth inhabit, the scum of the seven deadly sins, an enemy to all good mindes, a devourer of young gentlemen, and, to conclude, my mortall enemy; and therefore admit of my challenge, and let him be none of the jury.

Truly (qd Cloth-breeches), and I am willing he should be discarded too, for were not bad brokers (I will not condemne all) there would bee lesse filching and fewer thieves; for they receive all is brought them, and buy that for a crowne that is worth twenty shillings: desire of gaine blindes their conscience, and they care nor how it bee come by, so they buy it cheape. Beside, they extort upon the poore that are inforced through extreame want to pawne their cloathes and householde stuffe, their pewter and brasse; and if the poore foules that labour hard misse but a day, the base minded broker takes the forfeite without remorse or pittie. It was not so *in diebus illis*, but thou, proud upstart Velvet-breeches, has learnd all Englishmen their villany, and all to maintaine thy bravery: yea, I have knowne of late, when a poore woman laid a silver thimble, that was sent her from her friends for a token, to pawn for six pence, and the broker made her pay a half-peny a weeke for it, which comes to two shillings a yere, for six pence. Sith, then, hys conscience is so bad, let him be shuffled out amongst the knaves for a discarding card.

Content, qd I, and bad the broker stand backe; when there were even at my heeles three in a cluster, pert youthes all, and neatly tired. I questioned them what they were, and the one sayd hee was a barber, the other a surgeon, and the third an apoticary.—How like you of these (qd I), shall they be of your jury? Of the jury? quoth Cloth-breeches: never one by my consent, for I challenge them all. Your reason, qd I, and then you shall have my verdict.

Marry (qd Cloth-breeches), first for the barber: he cannot be but a partiall man on Velvet-breeches side, sith he

gets more by one time dressing of him, than by ten times dressing of me. I come plaine to be polde, and to have my beard cut, and pay him two pence: Velvet-breeches, he fittes downe in a chaire wrapt in fine cloathes, as though the barber were about to make him a footcloth for the Vicar of Saint Fooles: then begins he to take his fiffars in his hand and his combe, and so to snap with them as if he meant to give a warning to all the lice in his nittye lockes for to prepare themselves, for the day of their destruction was at hande: then, comes he out with his fustian eloquence, and, making a low conge, faith, "Sir, will you have your wor. haire cut after the Italian maner, shorte and round, and then frounst with the curling yrons to make it looke like a halfe moone in a mist? or like a Spanyard, long at the eares, and curled like the two endes of an olde cast perriwig? or will you bee Frenchified with a love locke downe to your shoulders, wherein you may weare your mistresse favour? The English cut is base, and gentlemen scorne it: noveltie is daintie. Speake the woord, sir, my fiffars are ready to execute your worships wil." His head being once drest, which requires in combing and rubbing some two howers, hee comes to the bason: then, being curiously washed with no woorse than a camphere bal, he descends as low as his berd, and asketh whether he please to be shaven or no? whether he will have his peak cut short and sharpe, amiable like an *inamorato*, or broad pendant like a spade, to be terrible like a warrior, and a foldado? whether he wil have his crates cut low like a juniper bush, or his suberches taken away with a rafor? if it be his pleasure to have his appendices primd, or his mustachios fostered to turn about his eares like the branches

of a vine, or cut down to the lip with the Italian lash, to make him loke like a halfe faced bauby in bras? These quaint tearmes, Barber, you greet maister Velvet-breeches withall, and at every word or snap with your fiffars, and a cring with your knee; whereas when you come to poore Cloth-breeches you either cut his beard at your owne pleasure, or else, in disdaine, aske him, if he will be trimd with Christs cut, round like the halfe of a Holland cheefe, mocking both Christ and us: for this your knaverie my wil is you shall be none of the jury.

For you, maister Surgion, the statutes of England exempts you from being of any quest; and beside, alas! I feldome fall into your hands, as being quiet and making no brawls to have wounds, as swartrutting Velvet-breeches dooth; neither doe I frequent whore-houfes to catch the marbles, and foe to grow your patient. I knowe you not, and therefore I appeale to the statute: you shall have nothing to doe with my matter. And for you, M. Apoticarie, alas! I looke not once in seven yeare into your shop, without it be to buy a peniworth of wormeseed to give my child to drinke, or a little triacle to drive out the measels, or perhaps some dregs and powders to make my sicke horffe a drench withall; but for my selfe, if I be il at ease, I take kitchin phisicke, and make my wife my doctor, or my garden my apoticaries shop; whereas queasie maister Velvet-breeches cannot have a fart awrye, but he must have his purgations, pils and glifters, or evacuate by electuaries: he must, if the left spot of morphue come on his face, have his oyle of tartar, his *Lac Virginis*, his camphire diffolved in verjuice, to make the foole as faire, forfooth, as if he were to play Maid-marian in a May game or Moris-

daunce. Tush! he cannot digest his meale without suckats, nor (shall I speake plainely! please the trug, his mistres, without he goe to the Apothecaries for *Eringion*, *Oleum formicarum alatarum*, and *aqua mirabilis* of ten pound a pint.—If mast Velvet-breeches with drinking these drugs hap to have a stinking breath, then, forfooth, the Apoticarie must play the perfumer to make it sweet: nay, what is it about him that he blameth not nature for framing, and formeth it a new by art; and in all this who but mounfier the Apoticary? Therefore, good sir (quoth he) seeing you have taken upon you to be trior for the challenges, let those three, as partial companions, be packing.

Why (qd I), seeing you have yielded such reason of refusall, let them stand by. Presently, looking about for more, comes stalking downe an aged grand sir in a blacke velvet coat and a blacke cloath gowne welted and faced, and after him, as I supposed, foure serving men, the most il favoured knaves, me thought, that ever I sawe: one of them had a buffe leather jerkin, all greasie before with the droppings of beere that fell from his beard, and by his side a skeine like a brewers long knife; and muffled he was in a a cloake turnd over his nose, as though he had beene ashamed to shewe his face. The second had a belly like a buckingtub, and a threed bare blacke coat unbuttoned before upon the brest, whereon the map of drunkenness was drawne with the bawdy and bowfis excrements that dropt from his filthy leaking mouth. The third was a long leane old flavering slangrell, with a brasell staffe in the one hand, and a whipcord in the other, so pourblind that hee had like to have stumbled upon the company before he saw them. The fourth was a fat chuffe, with a sower looke, in

a blacke cloke faced with taffata, and by his side a great side pouch like a faulkner: for their faces, all foure seemed to be bretheren: they were so bumbasted with the flockes of strong beere, and lined with the lees of old sacke, that they looked like foure blowne bladders painted over with redde oaker, and washt over with the fuds of an old stale dye. All these, as well the maister as the following mates, would have past away, but that I stept before them and inquired first of the formost, what he was? Mary, qd he, a Lawier. Then, sir, qd I, we have a matter in controversie that requireth counsaile, and you are the more welcome. What is it? qd he. Mary, said I, whether Cloth-breeches or Velvet-breeches are of more worth, and which of them hath the best title to bee resident in England? At this the Lawier smild, and Velvet-breeches, stepping forth, tooke acquaintance of him, and commending his honestye, said there could not be a man of better indifferency of the jury; when Cloth-breeches, stepping in, swore hee marvelled he was not, as well as the Surgeon, exempted by act of Parliament from being of any quest, sith, as the Surgion was without pittie, so he was without conscience; and thereupon infered his challenge, saieng the Lawyer was never friend to Cloth-breeches, for when lowlineffe, neighbourhood and hospitality lived in England, Westminster hall was a dining chamber, not a den of controversies; when the king himselfe was content to keepe his S. Georges day in a plaine paire of kerseie hose; when the duke, earle, lord, knight, gentleman and esquire aimed at vertue, not at pride, and wore such breeches as was spun in his house: then the lawier was a simple man, and in the highest degree was but a bare scrivener, except Judges of the land, which tooke in hand

ferious matters, as treasons, murthers, felonies and such capitall offences; but sildome was there any pleas put in before that proud upstart Velvet-breeches, for his maintenance, invented strange controversies, and since hee began to domineer in England hee hath busd such a proud busie covetous and incroching humor into every mans head, that lawiers are grown to bee one of the cheefe lims of the commonwealth; for they doo nowe adaies *de lana caprina taxare*, go to law if a hen do but scrape in his orchard; but howsoever right bee, might carries awaie the verdict. If a poore man sue a gentleman, why he shootes up to the skie, and the arrow falls on his owne head: howsoever the cause go, the weakest is thrust to the wall. Lawiers are troubled with the heate of the liver, which makes the palms of their hands so hot, that they cannot be coold unlesse they be rubd with the oyle of angels; but the poore man, that gives but his bare fee, or perhaps pleads *in forma pauperis*, he hunteth for hares with a taber, and gropeth in the darke to find a needle in a bottle of hay. Tush! these lawiers have such dilatory and foren pleas, such dormers, such quibs and quidits, that, beggering their clyents, they purchase to themselves whole lordships. It booteth not men to discourse of their little conscience, and great extortion, only suffice they bee not so rich as they bee bad, and yet they bee but too wealthy. I inveigh not against law nor honest lawiers, for there be some well qualified, but against extorting ambodexters, that wring the poore; and because I know not whether this bee such a one or no, I challeng him not to bee of my jury.

Why then, quod I, his worship may depart; and then I questioned what he in the buff jerkin was? Mary, qd he, I

am a ferjeant: hee had no fooner faid fo but Velvet-breeches leapt back, and drawing his rapier, fwore he did not only challenge him for his jury, but alfo protefted, if he ftirred one foot towards him, hee would make him eate a peece of his poinard. And what is the reafon, qd I, that there is fuch mortall hatred betwixt you and the ferjeant? Oh fir, qd Velvet-breeches, fearch him and I warrant you the knave hath precept upon precept to arreft me, hath worne his mace fsmooth with onely clapping it upon my fhoulder, hee hath had me under *coram* fo often. Oh! that reprobate is the ufurers executioner, to bring fuch gentlemen to limbo as he hath overthrowne with his bafe brocage, and bad commodities; and as you fee him a fat knave with a foggie face, wherein a cup of old fack hath fet a feale to make the bowfie drunkard to dye of the dropfy, fo his confcience is confumed, and his hart robd of al remorse and pity, that for mony he wil betray his own father: for wil a cormorant but fee him to arreft a yong gentleman, the rakehel wil be fo eager to catch him, as a dog to take a beare by the eares in Parifh-garden; and when he hath laid hold upon him, he ufeth him as curteoufly as a butchers cur would do an oxe cheeke, when hee is hungry: if he fee the gentleman hath mony in his purffe, then ftraight with a cap and knee he carries him to the taverne, and bids him fend for fome of his frendes to bale him; but firft he covenants to have fome brafe of angels for his paines, and befides he cals for wine as greedily as if the knaves mother had been brocht againft a hogfhed when he was begotten. But fuppofe the gentleman wants pence, he wil either have a pawne, or elfe bringe him to the Counter without refpect of manhood or honefitye. I fhould fpend the whole day

with displaying his villanies; therefore, breefly let this suffice: he was never made by the consent of God, but his flovenly carkase was framed by the Divell of the rotten carian of a wolfe, and his foule of an ufurers damned ghost, turnd out of hell into his body to do monstous wickednesse againe upon the earth; so that he shal be none of my jury, neither shal he come nearer me then the length of my rapier will suffer him.

Indeede, qd Cloth-breeches, generally ferjeantes be bad, but there be amongst them some honest men that will do their duties with lawfull favour; for, to say truth, if ferjeants were not, how should men come by their debts? mary, they are so cruel in their office that if they arrest a poore man, they will not suffer him (if hee hath no mony) to stay a quarter of an houre to talke with his creditor, although perhaps at the meeting they might take composition, but only to the Counter with him, unles he will lay his pewter, brasse, coverlets, sheets or such household stufte to them for pawne of paiment of some coine for their staying. Therefore, let him depart out of this place, for his roome is better then his company.

Well then, quoth I, what say you to these three? and with that I questioned their names: the one said hee was a Sumner; the other a Gaolor, and the third an Infourmer. Jesus bleffe me! (quoth Cloth-breeches) what a ging was heere gathered together! no doubt hell is broke loose, and the Divel meanes to keep holiday. I make challeng against them al, as against worse men than those that gave evidence against Christ. For the Sumner, it bootes me to say little more against him then Chaucer did in his Canterbury Tales, who said hee was a knave, a briber and a

bawd : but leaving that authority, although it be authentically, yet thus much I can say of my selfe, that these drunken drofye sonnes go a tooting abroad (as they themselves term it) which is to heare if any man hath got his maid with child, or plaies the good fellow with his neighbours wife : if he finde a hole in any mans coate that is of wealth, then he hath his peremtory scitation ready to scite him to the archdeacons or officials court, there to apeere and abide the shame and penalty of the law : the man, perhaps in good credit with his neighbours, loath to bring his name in question, greseth the Sumner in the fist, and then he wipes him out of the booke, and suffers him to get twenty with child, so he keepe him warm in the hand. He hath a saying to wanton wives ; and they are his good dames, and as long as they feede him with cheefe, bacon, capons and such od reversions ; they are honest and they be never so bad : he sweares to the official complaints are made upon envy, and the women of good behaviour. Tush ! what bawdry is it he wil not suffer, so he may have mony and good cheere, and, if he like the wench well, a snatch himselfe ; for they know all the whores in a country, and are as lecherous companions as may be. To be breefe, the Sumner lives upon the fins of people, and out of harlatry gets he all his commodity. As for the Gaoler, although I have beene little troubled in prison to have experience of his knavery, yet I have heard the poore prisoners complaine how cruell they be to them, extorting with extraordinary fees, selling a duble curtall (as they call it) with a duble jug of beere for 2 pence, which contains not above a pint and a halfe. Let a poore man be arrested into one of the Counters, though he but set his foot

in them but halfe an hour, he ſhal be almoſt at an angels charge, what with garniſh, croſſing and wiping out of the booke, turning the key, paying the chamberleine, feeing for his jury, and twenty ſuch extortions invented by themſelves, and not allowed by any ſtatute. God bleſſe me, gaoler, from your henhouſes, as I wil keepe you for coming on my queſt. And to you, M. Infourmer, you that looke like a civil citizen, or ſome handſome petty-fogger of the law, although your crimſon noſe bewrayes you can ſup of a coole cup of ſack without any chewing, yet have you as much fly knavery in your ſide pouch there, as would breed the confuſion of fortye honeſt men.

It may bee, ſir, you marvell why I exclaime againſt the Informer, ſith hee is a moſt neceſſary member in the common wealth, and is highly to the Prince's advauntage for the benefit of pennal ſtatues and other abuſes, whereof he giveth ſpeciall inteligence. To wipe out this doubt, I ſpeake not againſt the office, but the officer, againſt ſuch as abuſe the lawe when they ſhould use it; and ſuch a one I geſſe this fellowe to bee by the carnation tincture of his ruby noſe. Therefore, let us ſearch his bagge, and ſee what traſh you ſhall finde in it. With that, although the Infourmer were very loath, yet wee pluckt out the ſtuffing of his pouch, and in it was found a hundred and od writtes: whereat I woundred, and Cloth-breeches ſmiling bad me read the labels, and the parties names, and then examine the Infourmer how many of them he knewe, and wherein they had offended? I followed his counſaile, and of all he knew but three, neither could hee tell what they had done amiſſe to bee arreſted, and brought in queſtion.

Cloth-breeches, seeing me stand in a mase, began thus to resolve mee in my doubt : Perhaps, quoth hee, you marvell why the Infourmer hath all these writtes, and knowes neither the parties, nor can object any offence to them. To this I answere ; that it beeing a long vacation, hee learned in the rowles all those mens names, and that they were men of indifferent wealth. Now meanes hee to go abroad and search them out, and arrest them ; and though they knewe not wherein, or for what cause they should bee troubled, yet rather than they will come up to London, and spend their mony, they will bestowe some od angell upon maister Infourmer, and sit at home in quiet. But suppose some be so stuborne as to stand to the triall, yet can this cunning knave declare a *Tamquam* against them, so that though they be cleered, yet can they have no recompence at all, for that he doth it in the Courts behalfe. I wil not unfold al his villanies, but he is an abuser of good lawes, and a very knave ; and so let him be with his fellowes.

I both wondred and laught to heare Cloth-breeches make this discourse, when I sawe two in the valley together by the eares, the one in leather, the other as blacke as the Divell. I stept to them to part the fraie, and questioned what they were, and wherefore they brawled. Marry, quoth hee that lookt like Lucifer, though I am blacke, I am not the Devill, but indeed a Collier of Croiden, and one, fir, that have sold many a man a false sack of coalss, that both wanted measure, and was halfe full of dust and droffe. Indeed, I have been a lieger in my time in London, and have plaied many mad pranckes, for which cause you may apparantly see I am made a curtal, for the Pillory (in the sight of a great many good and sufficient witneffes) hath

eaten off both mine eares; and now, fir, this Ropemaker hunteth mee heere with his halters. I gesse him to bee some evill spirit, that in the likenesse of a man would, since I have past the Pillory, perswade me to hange myselfe for my offences; and therefore, sith I cannot blesse me from him with *Nomine Patris*, I lay *Spiritus Sanctus* about his shoulders with a good crab-tree cudgell, that he may get out of my company.

The Ropemaker replied that, honestly journeying by the way, he acquainted himselfe with the Collier, and for no other cause pretended. Honest with the Divell! quoth the Collier; howe can he be honest, whose mother, I gesse, was a witch, for I have heard them say that witches say their praiers backward, and so doth the Ropemaker yearne his living by going backward; and the knaves cheefe living is by making fatall instruments, as halters and ropes, which divers desperate men hang themselves with. Well, quoth I, what say you to these? shall they be on the jury? Velvet-breeches said nothing, but Cloth-breeches said, in the Ropemaker he found no great falshood in him; therefore hee was willing he should bee one; but for the Collier hee thought it necessary, that as he came, so he should depart. So then I bad the Ropemaker stand by till more came, which was not long, for there came three in a cluster. As soone as they drue nie, I spied one, a fat churle with a fide ruffet coate to his knee, and his hands all to tanned with shifting his ouse, yet woulde I not take notice what they were, but questioned with them of their severall occupations. Marry, quoth the first, I am a tanner, the second a shoemaker, and the third a currier: then turning to the Plaintife and Defendant, I asked them if they would

allowe of those parties? No, by my faith, quoth Cloth-breeches: I make challenge to them all, and I will yeeld reasons of import against them. And first to you, maister tanner: are you a man worthy to be of a jury, when your conscience cares not to wronge the whole Common-wealth? You respect not publike commodity, but private gaines; not to benefit your neighbour, but for to make the proud princoxe your sonne an upstart gentleman, and because you would marry your daughter, at the least, to an esquire, that shee may, if it be possible, be a gentlewoman. And how comes this to passe? by your tanne-fats for sooth; for whereas by the anciente lawes and statutes of England you should let a hyde lye in the ouse at the least nine moneths, you can make good leather of it before three moneths; you have your dooves dung, your marle, your ashen barke, and a thousand thinges more to bring on your leather apace, that it is so badly tanned that when it comes to the wearinge, then it flectes away like a peece of browne paper. And whereas your backs of all other should be the best tanned, you bring them so full of horne to the market, that, did you not grease the sealers of Leaden Hall throughly in the first, they should never bee sealed, but turned away and made forget by the statute. I cannot at large lay open your subtile practises to beguile the poore community with bad leather; but let this suffice: you leave no villanie unfought to bring the block head your sonne to go before the clowne his father trimely trickt up in a paire of velvet-breeches.

Now, maister Currier, to your coosenage. You cannot bee content onely to burne the leather you dresse for fault of liquor, because you would have the shoemaker pay well,

and you put in little stufte : and, besides, when as in backs you should onely put in tallow, hard and good, you put in soft kitchenstufte mixt, and so make the good and well tanned leather, by your villany, to fleet and waft away, but also you grow to bee an extorting knave, and a forestaller of the market ; for you will buy leather sides, backs, and calve skines, and sel them to the poore shoemakers at an unreasonable rate by your false retaylinge, getting infinite goods by that excessive price, both undoing the poore shoemaker, and causing us that we pay extreemely for shooes. For if the currier bought not leather by the whole of the tanner, the shoemaker might have it at a more reasonable price ; but the shoemaker being poore is not, perhaps, able to deale with a dicker of hides, nor, perhaps, with a cuple of backs, and the tanner will not trust him : then the coofening and extorting currier comes up with this—I will lend you for a day ; and so pincheth him that hee is scarce able to finde his children bread.

But well hath the Prince and the honourable Lords of the privie counsaile provided by an Act of Parliament that no currier shall buy leather, either backs or hides, of the tanner, so to bridle the extorting and forestalling coofenage ; but craftilier and subteller hath the knave currier crosbitten the statute, in that he deales thus with the tanner : he makes him hold his leather unreasonably to the shoemaker, and so, when he cannot sell it, he laies it up in the curriers house, under a colour, whereas, indeed, he hath sold it him. Suppose this shifte be spied and prevented, then compoundeth hee with some knave shoemaker, some base rakehell without a conscience, that neither respecteth God, the commonwealth, nor his company, and, forsooth, he is

halfe with the currier, who letteth him have some hundred marke to laye out for leather every moneth, whereas hee spends not in his shop a hundred markes woorth in a yeare: so the shoemaker buies it to abuse the statute for the currier, and the currier by that meanes undooeth the other shoemakers. Thus two crafty knaves are met, and they neede no broker.

Now to you, gentle crafter, you masse shoemakers: you can put in the inner sole of a thin calves skin, when as the shoo is a neates leather shoo, which, you know, is cleane contrary both to conscience and the statute. Beside, you will joine a neates leather vampy to a calves leather heele: is not heere good stuffe, maister shoemaker? Well, for your knavery, you shall have those curffes which belongs unto your craft: you shall be lighte-footed to travell far, lighte-witted upon every small occasion to give your maister the bagge: you shall be most of you unthriffts, and almost all perfect good fellowes. Beside, I remember a merry jest how Mercury brought you a dangerous disease, for he requested a boone of you, which fell out to your great disadvantage, and to recreate us heere a little, gentle crafter, what fell to your trade by that winged God? As it happened on a time that Jupiter and Mercury travailing together upon earth, Mercury was wonderfully hungry and had no money in his purse to buy him any foode; and at laste, to his great comforte, hee spied where a company of taylors were at dinner with buttred pease, eating their pease with theyr needels pointes, one by one. Mercury came to them and asked them his almes: they proudly bad him sit downe, and doo as hee saw they did, and with that delivered him a needle. The poore god, beeinge passing

hungry, could not content his maw with eating one by one, but turned the eie of the needel and eate two or three together; which the tailors seeing, they start up and said, What, fellow, a showell and a spaede to buttred pease! hast thou no more manners? Get out of our company—and so they sent him packing with many stroakes. Mercury coming back, Jupiter demaunded him what newes; and he told him how churlishly hee was used amongst the tailors. Well, wandring on further, Mercury espied where a company of shoemakers were at dinner with powdered beefe and brewesse: going to them, before he could aske them any almes, they sayd, Welcome, good fellow! what, is thy stomach up? Wilt thou doe, as wee doe and taste of beefe? Mercury thanked them and sat downe and eate his belly full, and dranke well of good double beere, and when hee had done went home to his master.

Affoone as he came Jupiter asked him what newes, and hee said, I have lighted amongst a crue of shoemakers, the best fellows that ever I met with all: they have frankly fed mee without grudging, and therefore graunt mee a boone for them. Aske what thou wilt, Mercury, quoth hee, and it shall bee done. Why then, quoth hee, graunt that for this good turne they have done mee, they may ever spend a groat afore they can yearne two pence. It shall bee graunted, quoth hee.

Mercury, affoone as Jupiter had said the word, bethought himself and said—Nay; but that they may yearne a groate afore they spend two pence; for my tongue slipt at first. Well, Mercury, quoth hee, it cannot bee recald: the first with must stand. And hereof, by Mercurys boone, it grew that all the gentle craft are such good fellows, and

spendethriftes. But, howsoever, none of those three, neither shoemaker, tanner, nor currier, shall bee accepted to bee of the jury.

As they went away with fleas in their ears, beeing thus tanted by Cloth-breeches, wee might see where there came a troupe of ancient gentlemen, with their servingmen attending upon them. The foremost was a great old man, with a white beard, all in ruffet, and a faire black cloake on his back, and attending upon him some five men; their cognisance, as I remember, was a peacock without a taile: the other two that accompanied him seemed meaner then himselfe, but yet gentlemen of good worship: whereupon I went towards them and saluted them, and was so bould as to question what they were, and of their businesse. The most ancientest answered he was a knight, and those two his neighbours, the one an esquire, the other a gentleman, and that they have no urgent affaires, but only to walke abroad to take the fresh aire. Then did I shew them both Cloth-breeches and Velvet-breeches, and told them the controverfy, and desired their aide to be upon the jury. They, smiling, answered they were content; and so did Cloth-breeches seem to rejoyce that such honest antient English gentlemen should be triers of his title. But Velvet-breeches, storming, stept in and made challeng to them all. I demanded the reason why he should refuse gentlemen of so good calling, and he made me this answer.

Why, you may gesse the inward minde by the outward apparell, and see how he is adicted by the homely robes he is futed in. Why, this knight is mortall enemy to pride, and so to me: he regardeth hospitality and aimeth at honor with releeving the poore: you may see, although his

landes and revenewes be great, and he able to maintain himself in great bravery, yet he is content with home spun cloth, and scorneth the pride that is now adaies used amongst young upstarts: he holdeth not the worth of his gentry to be and consist in velvet breeches, but valeweth true fame by the report of the common sort, who praise him for his vertue, justice, liberality, housekeeping and almes-deeds. *Vox populi vox Dei*: his tenants and farmers would, if it might bee possible, make him immortall with their praiers and praises. He raiseth no rent, racketh no lands, taketh no incombs, imposeth no mercilesse fines, envies not an other, buyeth no house over his neighbours head, but respecteth his country and the commodity thereof as deere as his life. Hee regardeth more to have the needy fed, to have his boord garnished with full platters then to famous himself with excessive furniture in apparel. Since, then, he scorneth pride, he must of force proclaime himselfe mine enemy, and therefore he shal be none of my jury; and such as himselfe I gesse the Squire and the Gentleman, and therefore I challeng them all three.

Why, quoth I, this is strange, that a man should be drawne from a quest for his goodnesse: if men of vertue be challenged, whom shall we have upon the jury? Your objection helpes not, maister Velvet-breeches; for if hee be a man of so godly a disposition, he will neither speake for feare or favour: hee will regard neither the riches of the one, nor the plaine poverty of the other. Whereupon, sith you have made mee trior, I allowe them all three to bee of the jury; and so I requested them to sit down till our jury was ful, which they courteously did, although Velvet-

breeches frownd at it. When I, looking for more, saw wher ther came a troope of men in apparell seeming poore honest citizens : in all they were eight. I demaunded of them, what they were, and whether they were going ? One of them that seemed the welthiest, who was in a furred jacket, made answer, that they were all friends going to the buriall of a neighbour of theirs that yesternight died ; and if it would do him any pleasure to heare their names, they were not so dainty but that they would tell them. And so then he began to tell me that by his art he was a Skinner : the second said he was a Joiner, the third was a Sadler, the fourth a Waterman, the fifth was a Cutler, the sixth was a Bellows mender, the seventh a Plaisterer, and the eighth a Printer.

In good time, quoth I ; it is commendable when neighbours love so well together, but if your speede bee not over much, I much request you to bee of a jury. So I discoursed unto them the controversie betwene Cloth-breeches and Velvet-breeches, and to what issue it must grow by a verdict : they seemed all content, and I turned to the Plaintife and Defendant, and asked if they would make challenge to any of these ? I scorned, quod Velvet-breeches, to make any great objection against them, sith they bee mechanicall men, and I almost hold them indifferent ; for this I know, they get as much or more by me than by him : the Skinner I use for fures, whereas this base Cloth-breeches hath scarce a gowne faced once in his life : the Sadler for costly imbroidered saddles ; the Joiner for feeling my house ; the Cutler for gilt rapiers ; the Waterman I use continually, ten times to his once ; and so likewise of the Plaisterer : for the Bellowsmender, alas ! poore snake, I knowe him not :

for the Printer, by our Lady, I thinke I am some tenne pounds in his debt for bookes; so that for my part, let them all passe. And for me too, qd Cloth-breeches; but yet a little to put them in remembrance of their follies, let me have a bout with them all. And first to you, maister Skinner, to whome I can say but only this, that whereas you should only put the backs of skinner into facing, you taw the wombs and so deceive the buier: besides, you have some fantastike skin brought you not worth two pence, with some strange spots, though it bee of a libbet, you will sweare it is a most pretious skin, and came from Musco, or the farthest parts of Calabria. The Sadler he stuffes his pannels with straw or hay, and over gaseth them with haire, and makes the leather of them of morts, or tand sheeps skins. The Joyner, though an honest man, yet hee maketh his joynts weake, and putteth in sap in the mortefels, which should be the hart of the tree, and all to make his stufte slender. And you, Cutler, you are patron of ruffions and swash bucklers, and will sell them a blade that may be thrust into a bushell; but if a poore man come that cannot skill of it, you sell him a sword or rapier, new overglased, and swear the blade came either from Turkey or Toledo. Now, maister Waterman, you will say there is no subtilty in you, for ther is none so simple but that knowes your fares, and what is due betweene Greenwich and London, and how you yearne your mony painfully with the sweat of your browes: al this is true, but let me whisper one thing in your eare: you will play the good-fellow too much if you be well greased in the fist; for if a young gentleman and a pretty wench come to you and say, Waterman, my frend and I meane to go by water and to

be merry a night or two, I care not which way, nor whether we go, and therefore where thou thinkest we may have best lodging, thither carry us: then, off goes your cap, and away they go to Brainfoord or some other place, and then you say, Hostesse, I pray you use this gentleman and his wife wel: they are come out of London to take the aire and mean to be merry heere a night or two, and to spend their mony frankly, when God wot they are neither man nor wife, nor perhaps of any acquaintance before the match made in some bawdy taverne; but you know no such matter, and therefore, Waterman, I pardon you. And for you, Plaisterer and Bellowsmender, I passe you over; and so do I the Printer too, only this I must needs say to him, that some of his trade will print lewd bookes, and bawdy pamphlets, but *Auri sacra fames quid non?* And therefore I am content they shal be al of the jury.

I was glad there were so many accepted at once, and hoped that now quickly the jury would be ful: looking about me, straight I might see one alone come running as fast as he could. I wondred what he should be that made such hast, and the Skinner told me he was an honest man, and one of their company, by his occupation a Bricklaier. Oh! qd Velvet-breeches, a good honest simple man: he hath beene long in my worke, building me a sumptuous house. But I challeng him, qd Cloth-breeches, for he is a jugler. How, qd I, can it be? see, he goeth very homelie in leather, and hath his ruler in his hand, and his trowel at his side, and he seemeth not as one that were given to such qualities. Yes, qd Cloth-breeches: he hath this policie: when he maketh a stately place, al glorious to the eie, and ful of faire chambers, and goodlie roomes, and about the

house, perhaps, some threescore chimnies ; yet hee canne so cunningly cast by his art that three of them shal not smoke in a twelve moneth, and so spoiles he so much good mortar and brick. Why, qd I, the fault is not in the workeman but in the housekeeper ; for now a dayes men build for to please the eie, not to profite the poore : they use no roft but for themselves and their household, nor no fire but a little court chimney in their own chamber : how can the poore bricklayer then bee blamed, when the nigardnes of the lord or master is the cause no more chimnies do smoke ? for would they use ancient hospitality as their forefathers did, and value as lightly of pride as their great grandfathers, then should you see every chimney in the house smoke, and prove that the pore artificer had done his part. Why then, qd Cloth-breeches, as you please : admitte him of the quest. But what be those, qd Cloth-breeches, that come heere so soberly ? I hope they be honest men, for they looke very demure. I will inquire, said I ; and with that steppinge to them I demaunded their names ; and very courtiously the one said he was a Brewer, the other a Butcher, the third a Baker, and the fourth a Vitler. Hearing what they were, I was glad, gheffing, sith they were so honest and substantiall men, that they would helpe to make up the jury ; when Velvet-breeches, with a grim and foure countenance, gave them this challenge. I hold it not necessary (quoth hee) that these have any thinge to deale in my cause, sith I am at ods with them all, at least in forty pounds a peece : for this seaven yeares I have beene indebted unto them for breade, beefe, beere, and other victuals : then, sith they have credited mee longe, and I have had so little care to pay them, I

doubt now they wil reveng themselves and passe against me in the verdict. Nay (quoth I) the rather will they hold on your part, for if they be honest wise menne (as they seeme to bee) they will be carefull of your prefermente, seeing the more highly you are advaunced, the more like are they to come by their owne. If, therefore, you can object no other pointes of dishonesty against them, I see no reason why they should bee put by. If you doe not (quoth Cloth-breeches) then heare me, and I will prove them unfit to have any dealings here. And, first, for the Butcher. I pray you, Goodman kil-calfe, what havocke play you with puffing up of meate, and blowing with your pricker as you flea it? have you not your artificiall knaveries to set out your meat with prickes, and then sweare he hath more for mony then ever you bought; to sell a peece of an olde cow for a chop of a young oxe, to wash your olde meate that hath hung weltring in the shop with new bloud, to trusse away an olde eaw in stead of a young weather; and although you know it is hurtful, and forbidden by the statutes, to flea your hides, skines, backs, with cuts and flashes to the impoverishing of the poore shoemaker when hee buies it, yet, I pray you, how many slaughters do you make in a poore calves skin? Oh, Butcher! a long lent be your punishment, for you make no conscience in deceiving the poore.

And you, Masse Brewer, that grow to be worth forty thousand pounds by your felling of soden water, what subtilty have you in making your beare, to spare the malt and put in the more of the hop to make your drinke (be barly never so cheape) not a whit the stronger, and yet never sell a whit the more measure for mony? you can,

when you have taken all the hart of the malt away, then clap on store of water, tis cheape enough, and mash out a tunning of smale beare, that it scoures a mans mawe like Rennish wine. In your conscience how many barrels draw you out of a quarter of malt? Fie! I conceale your fals-hood, least I should bee too broad in fetting downe your faults. And for you, Goodman Baker, you that love to be seene in the open market place upon the pillory, the world cries out of your wickednesse: you crave but one deare yeare to make your daughter a gentlewoman: you buy your corne at the best hand, and yet wil not be content to make your bread weight by many ounces: you put in yeast and salt to make it hevie, and yet al your policy cannot make it but fine for the pillory: the poore crie out, the rich find fault, and the Lord Maior and Sherifs, like honorable and worshipful magistrats, every day walke abroad and weigh your bread, and yet al will not serve to make you honest men; but were extremity used, and the statute put in the highest degree in practise, you would have as few eares on your heads as the Collier. Last to you, Tom Tapster, that tap your smale cannes of beere to the poore, and yet fill them half ful of froth; that carde your beere (if you see your guests begin to be drunke) halfe smal and halfe strong: you cannot be content to pinch with your small pots and your ostry faggots, but have your truggs to drawe men on to villany, and to bring customers to your house, where you sell a joint of meat for xii pence, that cost you scarce six; and if any chance to go on the skore, you skore him when he is a sleepe, and set up a groat a day more than he hath, to finde you drinking pots with your companions. To be short, thou art a knave, and

I like not any of the rest : the way lies before you, and therefore you may be gon, for you shal be none of the quest.

I find to see Cloth-breeches so peremptory, when I sawe five fat fellows all in damask cotes and gownes, welted with velvet very brave, and in great consultation, as if they wer to determine of some waighty matter : drawing neere, I saw they were welthy citizens ; so I went and reverently saluted them, and told them how we neded their aide about the appeasing of a controversie, shewing them where the knight, esquire and other staid, till we might finde men to fill up the jury : they were contented, but Velvet-breeches excepted against fower of them, and said they were none of his friendes ; that was the Marchant, Goldsmith, Mercer and Draper. His allegations were these ; that they were all fethered of one winge, to fetch in young gentlemen by commodities under the colour of lending of mony ; for the Marchant delivered the yron, tin, lead, hops, sugars, spices, oiles, browne paper, or whatsoever else, from fixe moneths to fixe moneths, whiche when the poore gentleman came to sell againe, hee could not make threescore and ten in the hundred beside the usury. The Mercer he followeth the upstart gentleman that hath no government of himselfe, and he fedeth his humor to go brave : he shall not want filkes, fattins, velvets to pranck abroad in his pompe ; but with this provision, that he must bind over his land in a statute marchant or staple, and so at last forfeit all unto the mercilesse Mercer and leave himself never a foot of ground in Englande, which is the reason that for a few remnauntes of velvets, and filkes, the Mercer creepeth into whole lordships. The Goldsmith is not behinde, for most of them deale with usury, and let young gentlemen

have commodities of plate for ten in the hundred, but they must loose the fashion in felling it againe (which cuts them fore): beside they are most of them skilde in alchemy, and can temper mettales shrewdly, with no little profite to themselves and disadvantage to the buier, beside pufferings and quaint conceits which I omit. And so for you, Draper: he fetcheth them off for livery cloth, and cloth for six moneths and six, and yet hath he more knacks in his budget; for hee hath so darke a shop that no man can well choose a peece of cloth, it so shadows the die and the thred, a man shall be deceived in the wool and the nap, they cause the clothworker so to presse them; beside he imposeth this charge to the clothworker, that he draw his cloth and pull it passing hard when he puts it upon the tenters, that he may have it full bredth and length, till threed and all teare and rent in peeces. What care they for that? have they not a drawer to serve their turne to drawe and seame up the holes so cunningly that it shal never be espide? My selfe have seene in one broad cloth eightene score holes torne, rackt and puld by the clothworker only to please the draper and deceive the common wealth. To be short, the clothworker, what with rowing and setting in a fine nap, with powdering and pressing it, with shering the wool to the prooffe of the threed, deale so cunningly that they prove themselves the Drapers minister to execute his subtilties: therefore, if he chance to come, let him be remembered.

Now, sir, for the Vintner: he is an honest and substantial man, a frend of all goodfellows, and truly my frend for my mony, and worthy to be of the jury. Why no, quoth Clothbreeches; I am of another mind, for I hold him as

deceitful as any of the rest. What the Vintner! why he is a kind of Negromancer, for at midnight, when al men are in bed, then he, forfooth, fals to his charmes and spels, so that he tumbles one hogshhead into another, and can make a cup of claret that hath lost his colour to looke high with a dash of red wine at his pleasure. If he hath a strong Gascoigne wine, for feare it should make his guests to soone drunke, he can allay it with small Rochel wine: he can cherish up white wine with sack; and perhaps, if you bid him wash the pot cleane when hee goes to drawe you a quart of wine, hee will leave a little water in the bottome, and then draw it ful of wine: and what if he do? tis no harme: wine and water is good against the heat of the liver. It were infinit to rehearse the jugling of Vintners, the disorder of their houses, especially of the persons that frequent them; and therefore, sith Velvet-breeches hath put by the Marchant, Goldsmith, Mercer and Draper, the Vintner shal go with them for company.

As these were going away in a snuff for beeing thus plainly taunted, we might see a made merry crue come leaping over the field, as frolickly as if they ought not al the world two pence, and drawing more nearer, we might perceive that either bottle-ale or beere had made a fray with them, for the lifting of their feet shewed the lightnes of their heads. The formost was a plain country Sir John, or Vicar, that had proclaimed by the rednes of his nose he did go oftner into the alehouse then the pulpit; and him I asked what they were, and whether they were going? What are you, qd the Prest, that standeth by the high way to examine me and my frends? heeres none in my company but are able to answere for themselves. I, seing they

weere al fet on a merry pin, told the cause, and how the controversie grew betwixt Cloth-breeches and Velvet-breeches, and that we needed them to bee of the quest. Marry (quoth Sir John), a good motion: know, these al are my parishioners, and we have beene drinkinge with a poore man, and spending our monye with him, a neighbour of ours that hath lost a cow. Nowe for our names and trades: this is a Smith, the second a Weaver, the third a Miller, the fourth a Cooke, the fifth a Carpenter, the sixt a Glover, the seaventh a Pedler, the eight a Tinker, the ninth a Waterberer, the tenth a Husbandman, the eleventh a Diar, and the twelfth a Sailor, and I their Vicar: how could you, sir, have a fitter jury then me and my parishioners? You are a little to breefe, qd Cloth-breeches. Are you not some puritane, M. Parson, or some fellow that raifeth up new scismes and heresies amongst your people? A plague on them all, quoth I, sir; for the world was never in quiet, devotion, neighbourhoode, nor hospitality never flourished in this land since such upstart boies and shittle witted fooles became of the ministry. I cannot tel; they preach faith, faith, and say doing of almes is papistry; but they have taught so long *Fides solam justificat* that they have preached good workes out of our parish: a poore man shal as soone breake his neck as his fast at a rich mans doore. For, my frend, I am indede none of the best schollers, yet I can read an Homily every Sunday and holyday, and keepe company with my neighbours, and goe to the ale-house with them, and if they be fallen out, spende my money to make them friends; and on the Sundaies sometime, if goodfellowship call me away, I say both morning and evening praier at once, and so let them have a

whole afternoone to play in. This is my life: I spend my living with my parishioners; I seek to do al good, and I offer no man harm.

Well (qd Clothbreeches), I warrant thou art an honest Vicar, and therefore stand by; thou shalt be one of the guest; and for you, Smith, I see no great fault in you: you yearne your living by the sweate of your browes, and ther can be no great knavery in you, only I would have you to amend your life for drinking, fith you are never at quiet, unles the pot be still at your nose. But you, Weaver, the proverbe puts you down for a crafty knave: you can filch and steale almost as il as the Tailor: your woofe and warpe is so cunningly drawne out that you plague the poore country hufwives for their yearne, and dawbe on so much drigs that you make it seeme both well wrought, and to beare weight, when it is slenderly woven, and you have stolne a quarter of it from the poore wife. Away! be packing, for you shall be cashierd. What, Miller! shake hands with your brother the Weaver for knavery: you can take toll twife, and have false hoppers to convey away the poore mans meale. Begone: I love not your dusty lookes; and for company, goodman Cooke, goe you with him, for you cousin the poore men and country Tearmers with your filthy meat: you wil buy of the worst and cheapest, when it is bad enough for dogs, and yet so powder it and parboile it, that you will sell it to some honest poore men, and that unreasonable too: if you leave any meate over night, you make a shift to heate it againe the next day; nay, if on the Thursday at night there be any left, you make pies of it on Sunday mornings, and almost with your slovenly knavery poyson the

poore people. To be thort, I brook you not, and therefore be walking.

For the Carpenter, Glover, and Waterbearer, the Husbandman, Dier, and Sailor, sith your trades have but petty flights, stand you with Maister Vicar; you are like to help to give in the verdict: but for the Pedler and the Tinker, they are two notable knaves, both of an haire, and both cozin germanes to the Divil. For the Tinker, why he is a droufie, baudy, drunken companion, that walks up and down with a trug after him, and in stopping one hole, he makes three; and if in convenient place they meet with one alone, perhaps rifle him or her of all that ever they have. A base knave, without feare of God, or love to any one but to his whore and himselfe. The Pedler as bad, or rather worse, walketh the country with his docksey at the least, if he have not to mortes dels, and *Autem mortis*: he passeth commonly through every paire of stockes, either for his drunkennes or his lechery: and, beside, it is reported, you can lift, or nip a bounge like a *guire Cove*, if you want pence, and that you carry your pack but for a colour to shadow your other villanies: well, howsoever you are both knaves, and so be jogging.

Well, qd I, I suppose the jury be almost full; I beleewe we want not above three or four persons: looke you where they come to make up the number, and they should be men of good disposition, for they seeme to be al of the country. As soone as they came to us I met them, and told them the matter, and they were content. The one said he was a Grasier, the other a Farmer, the other a Shepheard. To them both; what think you of these three? qd I. Marry, faith Velvet-breeches, two of them are honest

men, but the other is a base knave; but tis no matter, shuffle him in amongst the rest. Nay, by your leave, quoth Cloth-breeches, I will shuffle out these two, for they are very Cormorants of the country, and devour the poore people with their monstrous exaction. And first I alledge against the Graier, that he forstalleth pasturs and medow grounds for the feeding of his cattell, and wringeth leases of them out of poore mens hands: and in his buying of cattell he committeth great ufury; for if it prove a wet yeare, then hee maketh havock and selleth deare: if it be a dry yeare, then he buyeth cheape, and yet having pasture keepes them till he may come to his owne prise. He knoweth as well as the Butcher by the feede of a bullock how much tallow he will yeelde; what his quarters will amount unto; what the Tanner will give for the hide; nay, what the fowse wives are able to make of the inwards; so that he fels it so deare to the Butcher, that he can scarce live of it: and therefore what subtilty the Butcher useth commeth from the Graier; so that I exempt him from the quest as a bad member and an ill friend to Cloth-breeches. And for you, Masse Farmer, you know how through you covetous Land-lords raise their rents; for if a poore man have but a plough land, if you see his pastures beare good grasse, and his earable ground good corne, and that he prospereth and goeth forward on it, and provideth and maintaineth his wife and servants honestly, then *Invidus alterius rebus marcessit opinis, vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet.* Then straight envy pricks the Farmer forward, and hee bids the Landlord far more than the poore man paies yearely for it; so that if he bee a tenant at will, hee puts him out to beg in the street; or when his

lease comes out, hee over loades him in the fine, and thus bloudfucketh hee the poore for his owne private profite. Besides, the base chuffe, if he sees a forward yeare, and that corne is likely to be plenty, then he murmureth against God, and sweareth and protesteth he shall be undone, respecting more the filling of his owne coffers by a dearth, then the profit of his country by a generall plenty. Beside, sir, may it please you, when new corne comes into the market, who brings it in to relieve the state? Not your mastership, but the poore husbandman that wants pence; for you keepe it till the back end of the yeare; nay, you have your garners which have corne of two or three years old, upon hope still of a deare yeare, rather letting the weasels eat it, then the poore should have it at any reasonable price. So that I conclude, you are a Cormorant of the common wealth, and a wretch that lives of the spoile of the needy; and so I leave you to jet with the Grafier. Marry, for the Shepheard, unlesse it be that he killeth a Lambe now and then, and saies the fox stole him, I know little craft in his budget: therefore, let him be amongst the honest men of the jury.

Wel, Clothbreeches, qd I, you are very peremptory in your challenges. What say you, heere comes three or foure citizens, will any of these serve the turne? I cannot tell, qd he, till I know their names and conditions. With that I stept afore the company, and enquired what they were? The eldest of them, being a grave citizen, said he was a Grocer; the rest his good and honest neighbours, a Chandler, a Haberdasher, a Clothworker, and two strangers, one a Wallon, the other a Duchman. How like you of these? qd I, to Velvet-breeches. Wel enough, qd he, for

I am little acquainted with them, yet I know they favour me, because I have, on a Sunday, seen them all in their filkes. I, marry, quoth Cloth-breeches, but they never get that bravery with honesty: for the Clothworker, his faults were laid open before, when we had the Draper in question, and therefore let him be packing. For you, Chandler, I like not your tricks: you are too conversant with the kitchenstuffe wives: you, after your week or snuffe is stifened, you dip it in filthy droffe, and after give him a coat of good tallow, which makes the candles drop and waft away, to the great hinderance of the poore workmen that watcheth in the night. Beside, you pinch in your waights, and have false measures, and many other knaveries that I omit; but this be sure, you shal not meddle in my matter: neither the Haberdasher, for he trims up old felts and makes them very faire to the eie, and faceth and edgeth them neatly, and then he turns them away to such a simple man as I am, and so abuseth us with his coosenage. Beside, you buy gumd tafata, wherwith you line hats, that will straight afunder affone as it comes to the heat of a mans head. To be breefe, I am not well skild in your knaveries; but, indeed, you are too subtill for poore Cloth-breeches, and therefore you shalbe none of the jury.

Marry, the Grocer seemes an honest man, and I am content to admit him; only take this as a caveat by the way, that you buy of the garbellers of spices the refuse that they sift from the marchaunt, and that you mix again and sell to your customers. Besides, in your beaten spices, as in peper, you put in bay beries and such dros, and so wring the poor; but these are all flight causes, and so I overpasse them and vouchsafe you to be of the quest. But I pray

you, what be those two honest men? Quoth the Grocer, the one a Dutchman and a Shoemaker, the other a Frenchman and a Milainer in S. Martins, and fells shirts, bands, bracelets, jewels, and such pretie toys for gentlewomen. Oh! they be of Velvet-breeches acquaintance, upstarts as well as he, that have brought with them pride and abuses into England. And first of the Millainer: what toies deviseth he to feed the humor of the upstart gentleman withall, and of fond gentlewomen; such fans, such ouches, such brooches, such bracelets, such graundcies, such periwigs, such paintings, such ruffles and cuffs, as hath almost made England as full of proud foppies as Tyre and Sidon were. There is no seamster can make a band or a shirt so well as his wife, and why forsooth? Because the filthy quean weares a traunce, and is a Frenchwoman forsooth; whereas our Englishwomen of the Exchange are both better workwomen, and will afford a better penniworth. And so for the drunken Dutchman, this shoemaker; he and such as he is, abuseth the commonwealth and the poor mechanicall men and handicrafts men of London; for our new upstart fooles, of Velvet-breeches fraternity, liketh nothing but that the outlandish asse maketh: they like no shoe so well as that the Dutchman maketh, when our English men passe them far; and so for chandlers and al other occupations, they are wronged by the Dutch and French. And therefore, sith the commons hates them, they cannot be my friends, and therefore let them be launching to Flushing, for they shal be no triers of my controversie. Well, quoth I, now I suppose the jury is full, and we see no more coming: let us call them, and see how many we have. So they appeared to their names as followeth.

The names of the jury to be empanelled.

1 <i>Knight</i>	13 <i>Cutler</i>
2 <i>Esquire</i>	14 <i>Plaisterer</i>
3 <i>Gentleman</i>	15 <i>Saylor</i>
4 <i>Priest</i>	16 <i>Ropemaker</i>
5 <i>Printer</i>	17 <i>Smith</i>
6 <i>Grocer</i>	18 <i>Glover</i>
7 <i>Skinner</i>	19 <i>Husbandman</i>
8 <i>Dier</i>	20 <i>Shepherd</i>
9 <i>Pewterer</i>	21 <i>Waterman</i>
10 <i>Sadler</i>	22 <i>Waterbearer</i>
11 <i>Foyner</i>	23 <i>Bellowsmender.</i>
12 <i>Bricklaier</i>	

What! is it not possible to have one more to make up the foure and twenty? As I was thus speaking, I espied a far off a certain kind of an overworne gentleman, attired in velvet and fatin, but it was somewhat dropped and greasie, and bootes on his legges whose soles waxed thin, and seemed to complaine of their maister, which, treading thrift under his feet, had brought them into that consumption: he walked not as other men in the common beaten way, but came compassing *circum circa*, as if we had beene Divells, and he would draw a circle about us; and at every third step he looked back, as if he were afraid of a Bailie or Sarjant.

After him followed two pert Applesquires: the one had a murrey cloth gowne on, faced down before with gray conny, and laide thick on the sleeves with lace, which he quaintly bare up to shew his white taffata hose, and black-silk stockings; a huge ruffe about his necke wrapt in his

great head like a wicker cage, a little hat with brims like the wings of a doublet, wherein he wore a jewell of glasse, as broad as a Chancery seale: after him followed two boies in cloakes like butterflies, carrying one of them his cutting sword of choller, the other his dauncing rapier of delight. His Comerade that bare him company was a jolly light timberd Jack a Napes, in a fute of watchet taffata cut to the skin, with a cloake all to bedawbed with colourd lace: both he and my gowned brother seemed by their pafe, as if they had some futes to Mounseur Boots. At length comming neer, I might decerne the first to be a Poet, the second a Plaier, the third a Musitian, alias the Usher of a dauncing schoole.

Well met, Maister Poet, quoth I, and welcome your friends also, though not so perticularly known: so it is, though none of you three be common wealthsmen, yet upon urgent necessitie we must be forced to imploy you. We have a jury to be empanelled immediately, which one of you three must help to make up, even he which approves himself the honestest man. They are all honest men and goodfellowes, quoth Velvet-breeches: therefore it is no matter whether of them we choose.

The doctors doubt of that, quoth Cloth-breeches; for I am of a different opinion. The first, whome by his carelesse slovenly gate at first sight I imagined to be a Poet, is a waste good and an unthrift, that he is born to make the taverns rich, and himselfe a begger: if he have forty pounds in his purse together, he puts it not to usury, neither buies land nor marchandise with it, but a moneths commodity of wenches and capons. Ten pound a supper! why, 'tis nothing, if his plough goes and his inkhorne be

cleere. Take one of them worth twenty thousand pounds and hang him. He is a king of his pleasure, and counts al other boores and pefants, that though they have mony at command, yet know not like him how to domineere with it to any purpose, as they should. But, to speak plainly, I think him an honest man, if he would but live within his compasse, and generally no mans foe but his own. Therefore I hold him a man fit to be of my jury. Nay, quoth Velvet-breeches, I have more mind to these two; for this Poet is a proud fellow, that because he hath a little wit in his budget will contemn and mislike us that are the common sort of gentlemen, and thinke we are beholding to him, if he do but bestow a fair looke upon us. The Plaier and the Usher of a dauncing schoole are plaine, honest, humble men, that for a penny or an old cast sute of apparell——

Indeed, quoth Clothbreeches, you say troth: they are but too humble, for they be so lowly that they be base minded. I mean not in their looks or apparell, for so they be peacockes and painted asses, but in their corse of life, for they care not how they get crowns, I meane how basely, so they have them; and yet of the two I hold the Plaier to be the better Christian, although in his owne imagination too full of selfeliking and selfelove, and is unfit to be of the jury, though I hide and conceale his faults and fopperies in that I have beene merry at his sports: onely this I must say, that such a plaine country fellow as my selfe they bring in as Clownes and Fooles to laught at in their play, wheras they get by us, and of our almes the proudest of them all doth live. Well, to be breefe, let him trot to the stage, for he shall be none of the jury.

And for you, master Usher of the dauncing schoole, you are a leader into all misrule: you instruct gentlemen to order their feet, when you drive them to misorder their manners. You are a bad fellow, that stand upon your tricks and capers till you make young gentlemen caper without their landes. Why, sir, to be flat with you, you live by your legs as a jugler by his hands: you are given over to the pumps and vanities of the world; and, to be short, you are a keper of misrule and a lewd fellow, and you shall be none of the quest.

Why, then, quoth I, you are both agreed that the Poet is he that must make up the xxiiij. They answered both, he and none but he. Then I, calling them all together, bad them lay their hands on the booke; and first I cald the knight, and after the rest as they followed in order: then, I gave them their charge thus:

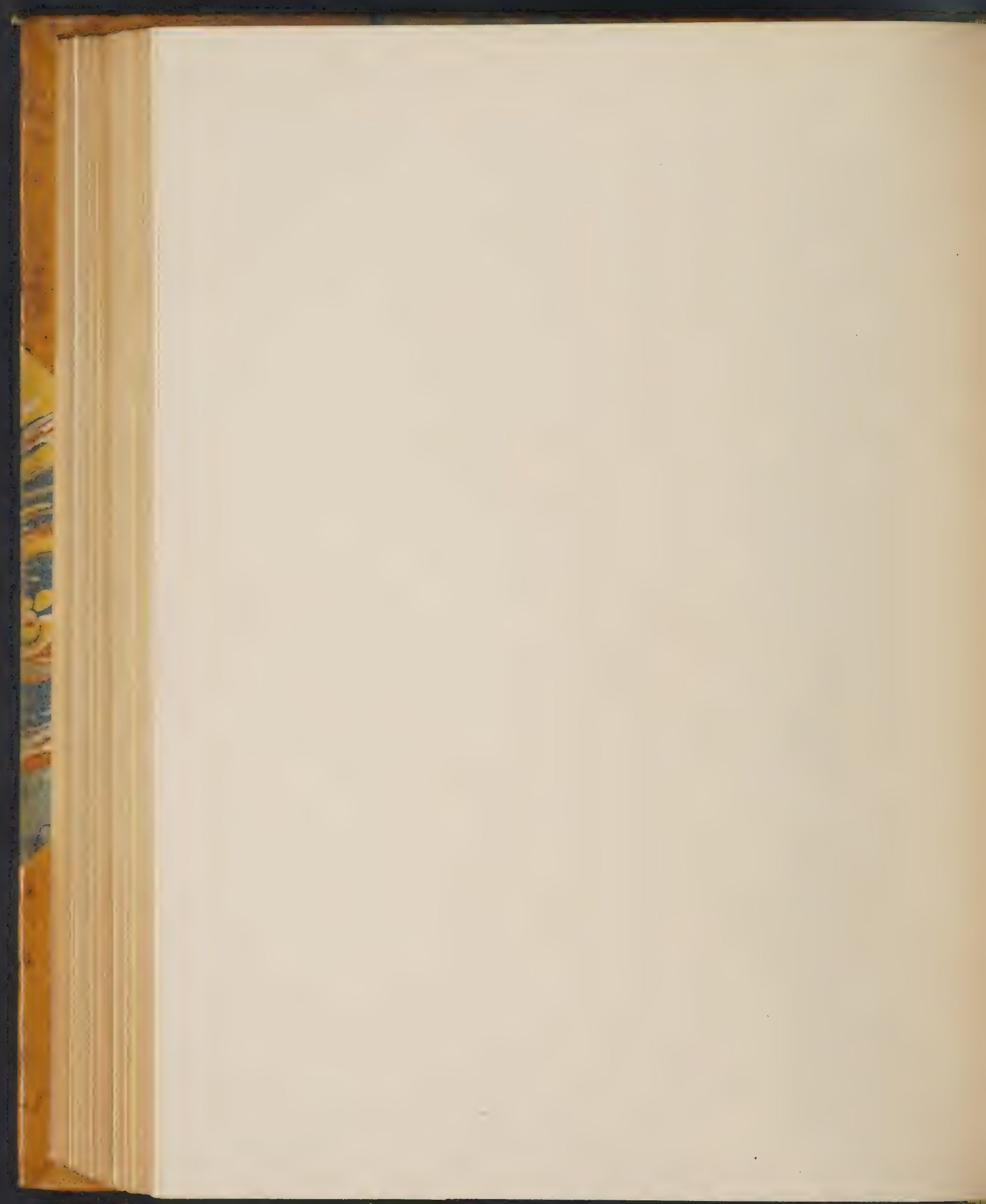
Worshipful sir, with the rest of the jury, whome we have folicited of choice honest men, whose consciences will deale uprightly in this controversie, you and the rest of your company are heere, upon your oth and othes, to inquire whether Cloth-breeches have done deffeison unto Velvet-breeches, yea or no, in or about London, in putting him out of franke tenement, wronging him of his right, and imbollishing his credit: if you finde that Cloth-breeches hath done Velvet-breeches wrong, then let him bee set in his former estate, and allow him resonable damages.

Upon this they laied their handes on the booke and were sworne, and departed to scrutine of the matter by inquiry amongst themselves, not stirring out of our sight, nor staying long, but straight returned, and the Knight for them all, as the formost, said thus: So it is that we have

with equity and conscience considered of this controversie betweene Velvet-breeches and Cloth-breeches, as touching the prerogative of them both, which are most worthy to bee rightly resident and have seison in frank tenement heere in England, and we do finde that Cloth-breeches is by many hundred yeares more antient, ever since Brute [was] an inhabitant of this Iland; one that hath beene *in diebus illis* a companion to kings, an equall with the nobility, a friend to gentlemen and yeomen, and patron of the poore, a true subject, a good housekeeper, and generall[y] as honest as hee is ancient: whereas Velvet-breeches is an upstart come out of Italy, begot of Pride, nursed up by Selfelove, and brought into this country by his companion Nufangleneffe: that hee is but of late time, a raiser of rents and an enemy to the common-wealth, and one that is not any way to be preferred in equity before Cloth-breeches. [Therefore by general verdict we adjudge Cloth-breeches] to have don him no wrong, but that he hath lawfully claimed his title of franke tenement, and in that wee appoint him for ever to bee resident.

At this verdict, pronounst by the Knight, all the standers by clapt their hands, and gave a mighty shout; whereat I started and awaked, for I was in a dreame in my bed, and so rose up and writ in a merry vaine what you have heard.

FINIS.



FOVRE LETTERS,

and certaine Sonnets :

*Especially touching Robert Greene,
and other parties by him abused :*

But incidently of diuers excellent perfons,
and fome matters of note.

To all courteous mindes, that will vouchsafe the reading.



LONDON

Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe,

1592.

THE PARTICULAR CONTENTS.

A Preface to Courteous mindes.

A Letter to M. Emmanuell Demetrius : with a Sonnet annexed.

A Letter to M. Christopher Bird.

A Letter to every favourable, or indifferent Reader.

An other Letter to the same : extorted after the rest.

Greene's Memorial : or certaine Funerall Sonnets.

*Two Latine Epitaphes : the one of M. Greene : the other of
M. John Harvey.*

A Sonnet of M. Spencer to M. Doctor Harvey.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS tract, mainly by Gabriel Harvey, was the provocation to Nash's "Strange Newes"; following it so immediately that some of the copies bear date in 1592, although others have 1593 upon the title-page, which, for some reason not stated, was then altered. It seems probable that Nash did not think the connection between Harvey's "Four Letters" and his own "Strange Newes" sufficiently obvious, and therefore, after a few copies had been issued, altered "Strange Newes" to "The Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse" and "Four Letters confuted," as it continued to be called. We have already reprinted the latter, and we now present the reader with the former.

It will be seen that in it Harvey, in various places, notices and answers Nash's "Pierce Penniless' Supplication to the Devil," and without that production some of the allusions in "Four Letters," now in the reader's hands, are hardly intelligible: we, therefore, propose very shortly to reproduce "Pierce Penniless," perhaps the most remarkable and popular publication of the kind in our language, from an edition (the second of six in the same year) which contains innumerable variations, some of them of considerable importance. "Pierce Penniless' Supplication" was indeed reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1842 from the first impression, which the author afterwards saw reason to amend to the form in which it will appear in our pages. Of the emendations nobody has hitherto taken notice, with the exception of Nash's introductory Epistle to his au-

thorised printer, Abel Jeffes, complaining, among other things, of the manner in which the first edition had been hastily brought out by an unauthorised printer, Richard Jones. It was not our original intention to have reprinted "Pierce Penniless", but the "flyting" between Nash and Harvey would be so incomplete without it, that we have determined to insert it, employing for the purpose the copy of which no use has till now been made.

We wish we could have given the whole series of tracts in the order in which they were originally issued; but as that was impossible, in consequence of the length and rarity of some of them, we shall, as formerly mentioned, accompany the last of them (Harvey's rejoinder to Nash, in 1597, under the name of Litchfield, the Cambridge Barber) by a list in which the titles will be placed in the precise order in which they ought to be read (and perhaps bound) to be best understood and relished. The tract in the hands of the reader was provoked by Greene's "Quip for an Upstart Courtier", and by Nash's "Pierce Penniless' Supplication to the Devil."

The last Sonnet in "Four Letters", etc., is by Spenser, and it was written six years before it was printed, Harvey in 1592 being naturally proud of the applauses of the author of "The Fairy Queen." They were of the same University; and it is a singular fact, only lately ascertained, that in Dec. 1578 Spencer gave Harvey three books ("Bibl. Acet.," i, 381) one of which Harvey mentions in the ensuing pages. Thus Spenser may be said to have contributed in two different ways to the publication before us. Harvey began to print two years before Spenser's "The Shepherd's Calendar" was published.

J. P. C.

TO ALL COURTEOUS MINDS

THAT WILL VOUCHSAFE THE READING

—o—

MAY I crave pardon at this instant, as well for enditinge that is unwoorthy to be published, as for publishing that was unworthy to be endited: I wil hereafter take precise order, either never to importune you more, or to sollicite you for more especiall cause. I was first exceeding loath to penne that is written, albeit in mine owne enforced defence, (for I make no difference betwene my deereft frends and my selfe) and am now much loather to divulge that is imprinted, albeit against those whose owne Pamphlets are readier to condemne them, then my Letters forward to accuse them. Vile actes would in some respectes rather be concealed then recorded, as the darknesse of the night better fitteth the nature of some unlucky birds, then the brightnesse of the day: and Herostratus, in a villanous bravery affectinge a moste notorious and monstrous Fame, was, in the censure of the wisest judgements, rather to be overwhelmed in the deepest pitt of Obli-

vion, then to enjoy any relique or shadow of his owne desperate glory. But Greene (although pitifully blasted, and how woefully faded!) still flourisheth in the memory of some greene wits, wedded to the wantonnesse of their owne fancy, and enamored uppon every new-fangled toy: and Pierce Pennyleffe (although the Divels Orator by profession, and his Dammes Poet by practice) in such a flush of notable good fellowes, cannot possibly want many to reade him; enough to excuse him, a few to commend him, some to beleeeve him, or to credite any that tickeleth the right veine, and feedeth the riotous humour of their licentious vanity. To stop the beginning is no bad purpose, wher the end may prove pernicious or perillous. Venome is venome, and will infect: when the Dragons head spitteth poison, what mischief may lurke in the Dragon's tail! If any distresse be miserable, diffamation is intollerable, especially to mindes that would rather deserve just commendation, than be any way blemished with unjust slander. They that use to speake well of other, and endeavour to do well themselves (the defectes of dishability are not to be imputed to endeavour) would be sory to heare amisse without cause of complaint, or suspition; and he that, like a Lacedemonian or Romane, accounteth Infamy worse then death, would be loath to emprove his courage, or to em-

ploy his patience in digestinge the pestilent bane of his life. That is doone cannot de facto be undone ; but I appeale to Wisedome, how discretely, and to Justice, how deservedly it is done ; and request the one to do us reason in shame of Impudency, and beseech the other to do us right in reproach of Calumny. It was my intention so to demeane my selfe in the whole, and so to temper my stile in every part, that I might neither seme blinded with affection, nor enraged with passion ; nor partiall to friend, nor prejudiciall to enemy ; nor injurious to the worst, nor offensive to any ; but mildely and calmelly shew how discredite reboundeth upon the autors, as dust flyeth back into the wags eyes, that will nedes be puffing it up. Which if I have altogether attained, without the least oversight of distempered phrase, I am the gladder ; if failed in some few incident termes, (what tounge or pen may not slipp in heat of discourse ?) I hope a little will not greatly breake the square, either of my good meaning with humanity, or of your good acceptation with indifferency. Favour is a courteous Reader, and a gracious Patron ; and no man loveth favour wher it is to be loved, or honoureth it where it is to be honoured, more affectionatly then I ; yet here I neither desire favour toward lovingest friend, nor wish disfavour toward spitefullest foe, but only request reason toward

both: and so briefly recommend both to your foresaid indifferency, as to an equall ballance of upright judgment.
London: this 16. of September.

Your thankful dettour, G. H.

THE FIRST LETTER.

*To the worshipfull, my very good frend M. Emma-
nuell Demetrius, at his house by the Church
in Limestreete, in London.*

MASTER DEMETRIUS, I earnestly commend this bearer, M. Doctor Harvey, my good frend, unto you, being a very excellent general Scholler, who is desirous of your acquaintance and friendship, especially for the sight of some of your antiquities and monuments: and also for some conference touching the state of forraine countries, as your leifure may conveniently serve. You shall assuredly find the Gentleman very honest and thankfull, and me ready to reacquite your courtesie and favour to him so shewen, in that I possibly may. And so with the remembrance of my harty recommendations, with like thanks for your two letters of foraine news, received the last weeke, I committe you to the protection of the Almighty. Walden, this 29th of August, 1592.

Your loving frend, Christopher Bird.

In steed of other novels, I fende you my opinion, in a plaine but true Sonnet, upon the famous new worke, intituled, *A Quippe for an upstart Courtier*; or, forsooth, *A*

quaint Dispute betweene Velvet-breeches and Cloth-breeches : as fantafticall and fond a Dialogue as I have feene; and, for some particulars, one of the moft licentious and intolerable Invectives that ever I read: wherein the leawd fellow, and impudent rayler, in an odious and desperate moode, without any caufe or reafon, amongft fondry other perfons notoriously deffamed, moft spitefully and villanoufly abufeth an auncient neighbour of mine, one M. Harvey, a right honeft man, of good reckoning; and one that above twenty yeres fince bare the chiefeft office in Walden with good credite, and hath mainetained foure fonnes, in Cambridge and elfe where, with great charges; all fufficiently able to aunfweare for themfelves; and three (in fpite of fome few Greenes) univerfally well reputed in both Univerfities, and through the whole Realme. Whereof one returning ficke from Norwich to Linne, in July laft, was paft fence of any fuch malicious injury, before the publication of that vile Pamphlet. *Livor poft fata quiefcat : et benè à fingulis audiant, qui omnibus volunt benè.*

A DUE COMMENDATION OF THE QUIPPING AUTOR.

*Greene the Connycatcher, of this Dreame the autor,
For his dainty devise deferveth the haunter.
A rakehell, a makehift, a fcribling foole;
A famous bayard in Citty and Schoole:
Now ficke as a dog, and ever braine fick,
Where fuch a razing and desperate Dick?
Sir reverence, a scurvy Master of Art,
Aunfweared inough with a Doctors fart.
He fcorne other Aunfweare: and Envy falutes
With sho[r]test vowels and with longest mutes.*

*For farther triall himself he referres
To prooffe and sound judgement that seldome erres.
Now, good Robin-good-fellow, and gentle Greenesleeves,
Give him leave to be quiet that none aggreeves.*

Miserrima Fortuna, quæ caret inimico.

THE SECOND LETTER.

*To my loving frend, Maister Christopher Bird
of Walden.*

MAISTER BIRD, in the absence of M. Demetrius I delivered your letter unto his wife, whome I found very courteous. My next businesse was to enquire after the famous Author, who was reported to lye dangerously sicke in a shoemakers house near Dow-gate, not of the plague, or the pocke, as a gentleman saide, but of a surfet of picklet herringe and rennish wine, or, as some suppose, of an exceeding feare. For in his extreamest want he offered ten, or, rather then fail, twenty shillings to the printer (a huge som with him at that instant), to leave out the matter of the three brothers, with confession of his great feare to be called *Coram* for those forged imputations. A conscious mind and undaunted hart seldome dwell together: hee was not the first that bewrayed and punished his owne

guiltines with blufhing for fhame, or trembling for dread, or drouping for woe. Many can heape mifery inough uppon their owne heads, and neede no more pénalty but their owne contrition, and the cenfure of other. I would not wifhe a fworne enimie to bee more bafely valued, or more vilely reputed, then the common voice of the citie eftemeth him that fought fame by diffamation of other, but hath utterly difcredited himfelfe, and is notoriously grown a very proverbe of infamy and contempt. I little delight in the rehearfall of fuch paltrye: but who like Elderton for ballating, Greene for pamphletting; both for good-fellowfhip and bad conditions? Rayling was the ypocras of the drunken rimefter, and Quipping the marche-pane of the madde libeller. They fcape faire that go fcot-free in fuch sawcy reckoninges: I have knowne fome, read of many, and heard of more, that wantonly quipped other and foundly nipped themfelves. The hoatteft bloud of choller may be cooled; and as the fierceft fury of wild-fire, fo the fierceft wild-fire of fury confumeth it felfe. Howbeit a common mifchiefe would be prevented; and it generally concerneth all, and particularly behooveth every one, to looke about him when he heareth the belles ringing backward, and feeth the fire running forward, and beholdeth even Death in perfon fhooting his peremptory boltes. You understand me without a glosfe; and here is matter inough for a new civill war, or fhall I fay for a new Troyan Siedge, if this poore letter fhould fortune to come in print.

I deale directly, and will plainly tell you my fancy, if Titius continue to upbraid Caius with every thing and nothing. I neither name *Martin-mar-prelate*, nor fhame *Papp wyth a hatchet*, nor mention any other but Elderton

and Greene ; two notorious mates, and the very ringleaders of the riming and scribbling crew. But Titius, or rather Zoilus, in his spitefull vaine, will so long flurt at Homer ; and Therfites, in his peevish moode, so long fling at Agamemnon, that they will become extremely odious and intollerable to all good learning and civill government ; and in attempting to pull downe or disgrace other without order, must needs finally overthrow themselves without relief. Oratours have challenged a speciall liberty, and Poets claimed an absolute licence ; but no liberty without boundes, nor any licence without limitation. Invectives by favour have bene too bolde, and Satyres by usurpation too-presumptuous. I overpasse Archilochus, Aristophanes, Lucian, Julian, Aretine, and that whole venemous and viperous brood of old and new railers. Even Tully and Horace otherwhiles over-reched ; and I must needs say, *Mother Hubbard*, in heat of choller, forgetting the pure sanguine of her sweete *Feary Queene*, wilfully over-shot her malecontented selfe, as elsewhere I have specified at large, with the good leave of unspotted friendshipp. Examples in some ages doe exceeding-much hurt : Sallust and Clodius learned of Tully to frame artificial declamations and patheticall Invectives against Tully himselfe, and other worthy members of that most-flourishing state : if *Mother Hubbard*, in the vaine of Chawcer, happen to tel one canicular tale, father Elderton and his son Greene, in the vaine of Skelton or Scoggin, will counterfeit an hundred dogged fables, libles, calumnies, flanders, lies for the whetstone, what not ; and most currishly snarle and bite where they should most kindly fawne and licke. Every private excesse is dangerous, but such publike enormities incredibly per-

nitious and infuportable : and who can tell what huge outrages might amount of fuch quarrellous and tumultuous causes ? Honour is precious : worſhip of value ; fame invaluable. They perillouſly threaten the Commonwealth that goe about to violate the inviolable partes thereof : many will ſooner looſe their lives then the leaſt jott of their reputation. Lord ! what mortall feudes, what furious combats, what cruell bloudſhed, what horrible ſlaughterdome, have bene committed for the point of honour and ſome few courtly ceremonies ! Though meaner perſons do not ſo highly overpriſe their credite, yet who taketh not diſcourteſie unkindly, or ſlaunder diſpleaſingly ? For mine owne part, I am to make an uſe of my adverſaries abuſe, and will endeavour to reforme any default where of I may juſtly or probably be impeached. Some emulation hath already done me good, both for ſupply of great imperfections, and for encrease of ſmall perfections. I have, and who hath not, found it better to be tickled and ſtinged of a buſy ennemy, then to be coyed and lulled of an idle friend.

Plutarch is gravely wiſe, and Macchiavell ſubtilly politique ; but in either of them what founder or finer piece of cunning, then to reape commodity by him that ſeeketh my diſpleaſure, and to play upon the advauntage of his detection of my infirmities ? Other cavilling, or moteſpying malice, confoundeth itſelfe ; and I continue my accuſtomed ſimplicity, to aunſwere vanity with ſilence, though, peradventure, not without daunger of inviting a newe injury, by intertaining an old. Patience hath trained mee to pocket-up more hainous indignities, and even to digeſt an age of iron. They that can doe little muſt be contented to ſuffer

much. My betters neede not take it grievously to be taunted or reproched in that booke, where Saint Peter and Christ himselfe are Lucianically and scoffingly alleadged ; the one for begging, the other for graunting a foolish boone, (pretended ever since the fatall destiny of the gentle crafte). Some men will have their swing and their buggeswordes, though it be against all Gods-forbid ; and what Cæsars might, or Catoes integrity, or what Saints devotion can stop such mouths ? Yet neither themselves the better, nor other the worse, that depend not on their allowance, but rely on their owne justification, and desire to confute their impudency not with words, but with deeds. Howbeit I am not to prejudice my Brother alive, or to smother the wrong offered to my Brother deceased, or to tollerate the least diffamation of my good Father, whome no illwiller could ever touch with any dishonesty or discredite in any sort. Nothing more deere or inestimable then a mans good name ; and albeit I contemne such pelting injuries, vainly devised against my selfe, yet am I not to neglect so intollerable a wrong, so notoriously published against them. There is law for desperate outlaws, and order for most disorderly fellowes : they that cannot governe themselves must bee ruled by other, and pay for their folly.

Whiles I was thus, or to like effecte, resolving with my selfe, and discourfing with some speciall frendes, not onely writing unto you, I was suddainely certified that the king of the paper stage (so the gentleman tearmed Greene) had played his last part, and was gone to Tarleton : whereof I protest I was nothing glad, as was expected, but unfainedly fory ; aswell because I could have wished he had taken his leave with a more charitable farewell, as also because I was

deprived of that remedy in law that I entended against him, in the behalfe of my father, whose honest reputation I was in many dueties to tender. Yet to some conceited witt, that could take delight to discover knaveries, or were a fitte person to augment the history of *connycatchers*, O Lord! what a pregnant occasion were here presented, to display leaud vanity in his lively coullours, and to decipher the very misteries of that base arte. Petty coofeners are not woorth the naming: he, they say, was the Monarch of Crosbiters, and the very Emperour of Shifters.

I was altogether unacquainted with the man, and never once saluted him by name: but who in London hath not heard of his diffolute and licentious living; his fond disguising of a Master of Arte with ruffianly hair, unseemely apparell, and more unseemely company; his vain glorious and Thrafonicall bravinge; his piperly extemporizing and Tarletonizing; his apishe counterfeiting of every ridiculous and absurd toy; his fine coofening of juglers, and finer jugling with coofeners; hys villainous cogging and foisting; his monstrous swearing and horrible forswearing; his impious profaning of sacred texts; his other scandalous and blasphemous ravinge; his riotous and outrageous surfeitinge; his continuall shifting of lodgings; his plausible mustering and banquetting of roysterly acquaintance at his first comminge; his beggarly departing in every hostesses debt; his infamous resorting to the Bankside, Shorditch, Southwarke, and other filthy haunts; his obscure lurking in basest corners; his pawning of his sword, cloake, and what not, when money came short; his impudent pamphletting, phantastical interluding, and desperate libelling, when other cozening shifts failed; his imploy-

inge of Ball (surnamed Cuttinge Ball) till he was intercepted at Tiborne, to leavy a crew of his trustiest companions to garde him in daunger of arrests; his keeping of the aforesaid Ball's sister, a sorry ragged queane, of whome hee had his base sonne, *Infortunatus Greene*; his forsaking of his owne wife, too honest for such a husband? particulars are infinite; his contemning of superiours, deriding of other, and defying of all good order.

Compare base fellowes and noble men together, and what in a manner wanted he of the ruffianly and variable nature of Catiline or Antony, but the honourable fortunes of Catiline and Antony? They that have seen much more than I have heard (for so I am credibly infourmed) can relate straunge, and almost incredible, comedies of his monstrous disposition, wherewith I am not to infect the air, or defile this paper. There be inough and inough such histories, both dead and living, though youth be not corrupted, or age accloyed with his Legendary. Truely, I have been ashamed to heare some ascertayned reportes of hys most woeful and rascall estate: how the wretched fellow, or shall I say the Prince of Beggars, laid all to gage for some few shillings; and was attended by lice; and would pittifully beg a penny pott of Malmsey; and could not get any of his old acquaintance to comfort or visite him in his extremity, but Mistris Appleby, and the mother of Infortunatus. Alas! even his fellow-writer, a proper yong man if adviced in time, that was a principall guest at that fatall banquet of pickle herring (I spare his name, and in some respects with him well), came never more at him; but either would not, or happily could not, performe the duty of an affectionate and faithfull frend. The poore Cord-

wainers wife was his onely nurse, and the mother of Infortunatus hys sole companion, but when Mistrisse Abbleby came, as much to expostulate injuries with her, as to visit him. God help good fellows when they cannot help themselves! slender reliefe in the predicament of privations and feigned habits. Miserable man, that must perish, or be succoured by counterfeit or impotent supplies!

I once bemoned the decayed and blasted estate of M. Gascoigne, who wanted not some commendable parts of conceit and endeavour; but unhappy M. Gascoigne, how lordly happy in comparifon of most-unhappy M. Greene! He never envyed me so much as I pittied him from my hart; especially when his hostisse Ifam, with teares in her eies, and sighes from a deeper fountaine (for she loved him dearly) told me of his lamentable begging of a penny pott of Malmesey; and, fir reverence, how lowfy he and the mother of Infortunatus were (I would her surgeon found her no worfe then lowfy); and how he was faine, poore soule, to borrow her husbands shirte, whiles his owne was a washing; and how his dublet, and hose, and sword, were sold for three shillinges; and beside the charges of his winding sheet, which was foure shillinges, and the charges of hys buriall yesterday, in the New-churchyard nere Bedlam, which was six shillinges and fourepence, how deeply hee was indebted to her poore husbände, as appeered by hys own bonde of tenne poundes, which the good woman kindly kindly shewed me, and beseeched me to read the writting beneath; which was a letter to his abandoned wife, in the behalfe of his gentle host, not so short as persuaible in the beginning, and pittifull in the ending.

*Doll, I charge thee by the love of our youth, and by my
soules rest, that thou wilt see this man paide; for if hee
and his wife had not succoured me, I had died in the streetes.*

ROBERT GREENE.

Oh, what notable matter were here for a greene head, or
Lucianical conceit, that would take pleasure in the paine
of such sorry distressed creatures! whose afflicted case, to
every charitable or compassionate mind, cannot but seeme
most commiserable; if not for their owne cause, yet for
God's sake, who deserveth infinitely of them whome he
acquitteth, not according to judgement, but according to
mercy. I rather hope of the deade, as I wish to the livinge,
that grace might finally abound where wickednesse did
overflow; and that Christ in his divine goodnesse shoulde
miraculously forgive the man, that in his divelish badnes
blasphemously reviled God. The dead bite not; and I am
none of those that bite the dead. When I begin to con-
flict with ghostes, then looke for my confutation of his
fine *Quippe*, or *Quaint Dispute*, whome his sweete hostisse,
for a tender farewell, crowned with a garland of bayes, to
shew that a tenth Muse honoured him more being deade,
then all the nine honoured him alive.

I know not whether Skelton, Elderton, or some like
flourishing poet were so enterred: it was his owne re-
quest, and his nurse's devotion; and happily some of his
favourites may imitate the example. One that wished
him a better lodging then in a poore journeymans house,
and a better grave then in that churchyard in Bedlam,
hath perfourmed a little peece of a greater duety to a
Laureat Poet:

*Here lies the man, whome Mistrisse Ifam crown'd with bayes ;
Shee, shee that joyde to heare her Nightingales sweete layes.*

Which an other no sooner read, but he immediatly subscribed, as speaking to the ignorant passenger,

*Heere Bedlam is ; and heere a Poet garish,
Gaily bedeck'd, like forehorse of the parish.*

Other epitaphes and funerall devotions I am promised by some, that deeply affect inspired bardes and the adopted sonnes of the Muses : but you may imagine I have smal superfluity of leysure to entend such businesse, and yet nothing, of frend or foe, can be unwelcome unto mee that favoureth of witte, or relisheth of humanity, or tasteth of any good. In the meane, as ever before for a generall defence, so still for a speciall apology, I referre myself to every indifferent judgement, and presume they will conceive well, that perceive no ill. Charity recommendeth favour to superiours ; amity to equals ; and good-will to all, that either reverence divinity, or regarde humanity. Friendes have affection, and the wiser sort reason, to value men, not by others report, but by their owne desert, or probable hope ; which I would willingly nourish, as I honestly may, till it shall please God to affoord some convenient occasion of more actuall prooffe. And as for envy or hatred to any party, I did ever abhorre them both ; and I imagine there is not any that either more resolutely disdayneth the one, or more peremptorily detesteth the other ; as perhaps may yer long visibly appeere, if some other requisites concurre with my intention, or fall-out aunswearable to my expectation. Promise is debt ; and I hadde rather perfourme then

promise any thinge, but a minde desirous to pleasure frendes, to reconcile foes, to displease fewe, to displease none.

They that have little else to winne or continue credite had neede have humanity, in supply of other defectes. Let the worlde deale with simple men as it pleaseth; I loath to be odious to any, and would be loth to bee tedious to you. The next weeke you may happily have a letter of such French occurrences, and other intelligences, as the credible relation of inquisitive frendes, or imployed straungers, shall acquaint me withal. That most valorous and brave king wanteth no honourable prayes, or zealous prayers. Redoubted Parma was never so matched; and in so many woorthy histories, aswell new as olde, how few comparable either for vertue or fortune? The Spanyard, politique inough, and not over-rashly audacious, will bee advised before he entangle himselfe with more warres attonce; knowing how the brave Earle of Effex, woorthy Sir John Norrice, and their valiant knightes, have fought for the honour of England, and for the right of Fraunce, of the Low countries, and of Portugal. Thrice happy Fraunce, though how unhappy France, that hast such a soveraine head, such resolute hartes, and such invincible hands to fight for thee; that will either recover thee most mightily, or die for thee most honourably! Were I of sufficient discourse to record the valiauntest and memorablest actes of the world, I would count it a felicity to have the oportunity of so egregious and heroical an argument; not pleasurably devised in counterfaite names, but admirably represented to the eie of France, and the eare of the world, in the persons of royall and most puissant knightes, how singularlie worthy of most

glorious and immortal fame! Gallant wits, and brave pennes, may honorably bethinke themselves; and even ambitiously frame their style to a noble emulation of Livy, Homer, and the divinest spirits of all ages. I return to my private businesse. Good Maister Bird, commende me to my good friendes, and fare you heartely wel. London: this 5 of September.

Your ever assured : *Gabriel Harvey.*

THE THIRD LETTER.

To every Reader, favourable or indifferently affected.

ALBEIT for these twelve or thirteene yeares no man hath bene more loth, or more scrupulous, then my selfe to underlie the censure of every curious conceit or rigorous judgement that pretendeth a deepe insight in the perfections of wits and styles, insomuch that even actions of silence and patience have bene commenced against me; and although I still dwel in the same opinion, that nothing would be committed to a publike view, that is not exactly laboured both for matter and manner, and that importeth not some notable use to one or other effectuall purpose; yet partlie the vehemente importunity of some affectionate friends, and

partly mine own tender regard of my father's and my brother's good reputation, have so forcibly overruled me, that I have finally condescended to their passionate motion, and in an extraordinarie case have respectively yeelded my consent to an extraordinarie course: which I would un- partially commend to the reasonable allowance of every indifferent peruser that carrieth courtesie in his tongue, or honesty in his hart. For mine own injury, the more I consider the lesse I estimate the same, as one born to suffer, and made to contemne injuries. He that in his youth flattered not himselfe with the exceeding commendations of some greatest scholars in the world, cannot at these yeares either be discouraged with misreporte, or daunted with misfortune. A premeditate and resolute minde lightly shaketh off the heaviest crosses of malice, and easely passeth over a thousande grievances with a smile. Some have learned of Reason, some of Philosophy, some of History, some of Divinitie, some of Experience, some of all, to endure patiently whatsoever befallerh, and even to make the cruellest paine pleasant, as some make the swetest pleasure painefull. I had rather name Titius or Sempronius, then my selfe; but the urgent entreaty of friends, and your eager expectation, have suddainely obtained that, which no personall impeachment, or real enforcement, could in many yeeres extort. Howbeit I shall hardly content them to satisfie you, that am neither to offend any but in case of notoriety, nor to defend my selfe but in case of necessity, or honesty. If any have charged mee, or do charge mee with insufficiency, I confesse; perfection is no common gifte: if with ignorance, I graunt; many seeme, fewe are learned: if with simplicity, I yeeld; wondrous wittes are rare birdes: if with ill lucke,

I deny not ; good lucke is not everie mans lotte ; yet who ever hearde me complaine of ill lucke, or once say, *Fortune my foe?* But in the plainnesse of my nature, and simplicitie of my [h]art, I can easely defie the proudest that dareth cal my credite in question, or accuse me of any dishonest or scandelous part, either in deede or in word. Many thinges are made offensive in the handling that are tollerable inough in their owne nature ; or fie on an odious circumstance, where the substance it selfe might be more gracious ! Letters may bee privately written, that would not bee publicly divulged. I was then yong in yeares, fresh in courage, greene in experience, and, as the manner is, somewhat overweening in conceit ; and for variety of study, and some deeper intelligence in the affayres of the world : otherwhiles reading invectives and satyres, artificially amplified in the most exaggerate and hyperbolicall kinde, I could hardly refraine from discoveringe some little part of my reading. I had curiously laboured some exact and exquisite poynts of study and practise, and greatly misliked the preposterous and untoward courses of divers good wits, ill directed : there wanted not some sharpe undeserved discourtesies to exasperate my minde. Shall I touch the ulcer ? it is no such mysterye, but it may be revealed : I was supposed not unmeet for the Oratorship of the University, which in that spring of mine age, for my exercise and credite, I earnestly affected ; but mine owne modest petition, my friendes diligent labour, our High Chauncellor's most-honourable and extraordinarye commendation, were all peltingly defeated by a shy practise of the olde Fox, whose acts and monumentes shall never dye. Some like accidents of dislike, for brevity I overslip : young bloud is hot ; youth hasty ; in-

genuity open ; abuse impatient ; cholar stomachous ; temptations busie ; the invective vaine, a styrring and tickling vaine ; the fatyrical humour, a puffinge and swellinge humour : conceit penneth, leisure peruseth, and courtesy commendeth many needlesse discourses ; idlenesse, the greatest author and variablest reader in the world : some familiar friendes pricked me forward, and I, neither fearing daunger, nor suspecting ill measure (poore credulity sone beguiled) was not unwilling to content them, to delight a few other, and to avenge or satisfie my selfe, after the manner of shrewes, that cannot otherwise ease their curst hearts but by their owne tongues and their neighbours eares.

Seignior *Immerito* (for that name will be remembred) was then, and is still, my affectionate friend ; one that could very wel abide Gascoigne's *Steele Glasse*, and that stoode equallie indifferent to either part of the state demonstrative : many communications and writings may secretlie passe betweene such, even for an exercise of speech and stile, that are not otherwise convenient to be disclosed : it was the sinister hap of those infortunate letters to fall into the left hands of malicious enemies or indiscreete friends, who adventured to imprint in earnest that was scribled in jest (for the moody fit was soone over), and requited their private pleasure with my publike displeasure : oh ! my inestimable and infinite displeasure.

When there was no remedie but melancholy patience, and the sharpest parte of those unlucky letters had been over-read at the Councill Table, I was advised, by certaine honourable and divers worshipfull persons, to interpreate my intention in more expresse terms ; and thereupon dif-

courfed every particularitie by way of articles or pofitions, in a large *Apology* of my dutifull and entier affection to that flourishing Universitie, my deere mother; which *Apology*, with not fo few as forty fuch academicall exercifes, and fundry other politique difcourfes, I have hitherto fuppreffed, as unworthie the view of the bufie world, or the entertainment of precious time: but peradventure thefe extraordinarie provocations may work extraordinarie in me; and though not in paffion, yet in conceit, fturre me up, to publifh many traicts and difcourfes, that in certaine confiderations I meant ever to conceale, and to dedicate unto none but unto obfcure darknefs, or famous Vulcane. It were pittie, but wonderous wits (give enemies their due) fhoulde become more woondrous by comparifon: conference maketh excellent things appeare more admirable; and I am fo far from being a Saturnift by nature, or a Stoick by difcipline, that I can eafily frame a certain pleafurable delight unto my felfe, by miniftring fome matter unto them, that now are faine to make fomething of nothing, and wittily to plaie with their own fhadowes. It goeth fomewhat hard in my harfh legend, when the Father of Muficke muft be mocked, not Tubulcain, as he miftearmeth him, but Tuball, whom Genefis vouchsafeth honourable mention; and the hexameter verfe flouted, whereof neither Homer in Greek, nor Virgil in Latin, (how valourous autors!) nor Alexander in conquest, nor Auguftus in majesty, (how puiffaunt princes!) were afhamed; but accompted it the onely gallant trumpet of brave and heroicall acts. And I wis the Englifh is nothing too good to imitate the Greek or Latin, or other eloquent languages, that honour the hexameter as the Sovereigne of verfes, and

the High Controwler of Rhimes. If I never deserve anye better remembraunce, let mee rather be epitaphed the *Inventour of the English Hexameter*, whom learned M. Stanihurst imitated in his *Virgill*, and excellent Sir Philip Sidney disdained not to follow in his *Arcadia*, and elfewhere, then be chronicled the *Greene Maister of the Blacke Arte*, or the Founder of ugly oathes, or the Father of misbegotten Infortunatus, or the Scrivener of Crofsbiters, or, as one of his own sectaries termed him, the Patriarch of Shifters. Happy man I, if these two be my hainoufest crimes and deadliest finnes : to bee the inventour of the English hexameter, and to bee orderly clapt in the Fleete for the foresaid letters ; where he that saw mee, saw mee at Constantinople.

Indeed Sir James Croft (whome I never touched with the least tittle of detractions) was cunningly incensed, and reincensed against mee, but at last pacified by the voluntary mediation of my honourable favourers, M. Secretary Wilson, and Sir Walter Mildmay ; unrequested by any line of my hand, or any woord of my mouth. Neither did I otherwise folicite or intreate Sir James, till I had assured notice of his better satisfaction ; when I writte unto him, as became mee, in respective and dutiful sort, not for feare of any daunger, but for love of honourable favour. Which letters, albeit not so ceremoniouſlie pleasing as effectually contenting, the wise knight not only received courteously, but accepted favourablie, and commended honourablie ; and for my selfe earnestly affirmed, I was first wronged by other, and then mistaken by him, but now found another man then I was supposed.

As for my old Controuler, Doctor Perne (for he indeed

was the man that otherwhiles flattered me exceedingly, otherwhiles overthwarted me crossly, alwaies played fast and loose with me), he was old enough to aunswer for himselfe, and should not bee defended by him. Onely he wished me to proceede lovingly with the University, howsoever I dealt with that Doctor. And that was all the Fleeting that ever I felt, saving that an other company of speciale good fellowes (whereof he was none of the meanest that bravely threatned to conjure-upp one which should massacre Martin's wit, or should be lambackd himself with ten yeares' provision) would needs forsooth verye courtly perswade the Earle of Oxforde, that something in those letters, and namely, the *Mirroure of Tuscanismo*, was palpably intended against him; whose noble Lordeship, I protest, I never meante to dishonour with the least prejudicial word of my tongue or pen, but ever kept a mindfull reckoning of many bounden duties toward the-same: since in the prime of his gallantest youth hee bestowed Angels upon me in Christes Colledge in Cambridge, and otherwise voutsafed me many gracious favours, at the affectionate commendation of my cosen M. Thomas Smith, the sonne of Sir Thomas, shortly after Colonel of the Ardes in Ireland. But the noble Earle, not disposed to trouble his joviall mind with such Saturnine paltery stile, continued, like his magnificent selfe: and that Fleeting also proved, like the other, a silly bullbeare, a sorry puffle of winde, a thing of nothing.

But a strong imagination pierceth deeply, and the paper Fleete will not bee so aunswered. Jesu! what would such notable fellowes write, or rather would they not write, if they could probably say, or fantastically surmise by me, as I can evidently prove by them? But I seeke not the con-

demnation of the deade, or the disgrace of the living, but the good amendement of the one by the naughty example of the other. And, for mine own farther justification in the premisses or otherwise, I had rather my larger writings and other actions should plead for mee, then this, or any flighte letter; wherein I am not to insourme pregnant conceits, that may imagine more by a little, or to addresse any peece of mine own history, though wiser men, in case of unworthy reproch, have not made nice to undertake their own defence, and even to labour their own commendation. The plausible examples of Tully, Cato, Marius, Scipio, divers such vertuous Romans, and fundry excellent Greekes, are famously knowen, but not greatly fit for every mannes imitation. Were other of my disposition, small time should be lost in avenging or debating verball injuries, especially to my selfe, who can verie well suffer poore spite to shoote at me, and to hitte himselfe; and sometime smile at the filly flie, that will needs martyr it selfe in my candle. But me thinkes the wildest head and desperate mind should consider, they that speak il must not looke to heare well; the worlde is not given to pocket up infamies. Who cannot returne-home a quippe, or requite one libell with another?

Nothing more common in bookes, or more readye in mouths, than the invective vaine, and the whole art of railing: some schollers have choyce of nimble pennes, and smooth tongues at commandement; and there was a time when, peradventure, I coulde speake with them that talked with me: though the case be altered, and I now none of the hastiest to strive for those bucklers, yet a general, a special, a glowing, a piercing indignitie, may rekindle some little

sparkes of courage ; and affection wil be affection, though not in proper revenge, yet the common duetie. I am not to dispute the nature of force, or the force of nature: who knoweth not how violently force provoketh force, or how mightilie nature worketh in compatible natures? But how far public objections, or famous imputations, require public aunswers ; or how insufficient the formallest judicall remedy in any one Court may seeme, in case of a printed diffamation, that with the wings of mallice in some, of envie in more, and of levity in most, flieth through the realme and over the sea, be it indifferentlie decided by everie discreete judgement or reasonable consideration; especially when the guiltie part[y] is deceased, and the injury not the lesse, but the more notorious. The best is, the persons abused are not altogether unknowen, they have not so evell a neighbour that ever reade or hearde, those opprobrious (it is too-mild a name for my brother Richardes most abhominable Legend, who frameth himselfe to live as chastely as the leawde writer affected to live beastly) but hath presentlie broken out into some such earnest, or more passionate speeches. O, pestilent knavery! whoever heard such arrant forgeries and rank lies? A mad world, where such shameful stuffe is bought and sould ; and where such roisterly varlets may be suffered to play upon whome they lust, and how they lust.

Is this Greene with the running head and the scribbling hand, that never linnes putting-forth new, newer, and newest bookes of the maker? If his other bookes bee as holesome geere as this, no marvaile though the gay-man conceive trimlie of himselfe, and statelye scorn all besides
• Greene: vile Greene! would thou wearest halfe so honest as

the worst of the foure whom thou upbraideft, or halfe so learned as the unlearnedst of the three! Thanke other for thy borrowed and filched plumes of some little Italianated bravery, and what remaineth but flat impudencie and grosse detraction, the proper ornaments of thy sweete utterance?

I alleadge not mine owne inventions (who cannot forget the two Athenian Temples of Impudencie and Calumnies when I remember him.) I could nominate the gentlemen, and substantiall yeoman, gentlemens fellowes, that uttered much more by his life, and can hardly forbear him since his death: and who of acquaintance with him, or them whome hee depraveth, could either partiallie excuse the one, or reasonable accuse the other. Their lives effectually speake for themselves; and he that lived not to see nine and twentie yeares, died not till the University of Cambridge had bestowed upon him a grace to bee a doctor of his faculty, and till hee was reputed in Norfolk, where he practised physicke, a proper toward man, and as skilful a physition, for his age, as ever came there: how well beloved of the chiefeft gentlemen and gentlewomen in that shire, themselves testifie. That his gone to heaven cannot be recovered on earth; it is our comfort that he lived in good credite, and died in good minde. I must ever remember some of his notable sayings (for in deede so they were) and can never forget that sweete voice of the dying cignet: *ô frater, Christus est optimus medicus, et meus solus medicus. Vale Galene, valete humanæ artes: nihil divinum in terris, præter animum aspirantem ad cælos.* That best, and his onelie physition, knoweth what spiritual physicke I commended unto him, when I beheld in his meager and

ghaftly countenance that I cannot rehearse without some fit of compassion.

Wee must in order follow him that shoulde in nature have gone before him ; and I know not by what destinie he followed him first that foled him last. How he departed, his ghostly mother Ifam can truliest, and will favourabliest report ; how he lived, London remembereth. Oh, what a livelie picture of vanity ! but oh, what a deadlie image of misery ! and oh, what a terrible caveat for such and such ! I am not to extenuate or prejudice his wit, which could not any way be great, though som way not the least of our vulgar writers, and mani-waies very ungracious : but whoever esteemed him either wise, or learned, or honest, or any way credible ? How many gentlemen and other say of him, Let the paltry fellow go : Lord, what a lewde companion was he ! What an egregious makehift ! Where should *conny-catchers* have gotten such a secretarie ! How shal cosenage do for a new Register, or phantasticality for a new autor ! They wronge him much with their epitaphs, and other solemne devises, that entitle him not at the least the second Toy of London, the Stale of Poules, the ape of *Euphues*, the Vice of the Stage, the mocker of the simple world, the flouter of his friendes, the foe of himselfe, and so foorth. What durst not hee utter with his tongue, or divulge with his penne, or countenance with his face ? Or whome cared he for, but a carelesse crewe of his own affociates ? Peruse his famous bookes, and insteede of *Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci* (that forsooth was his professed poesie) loe ! a wilde head, ful of mad braine and a thousande crotchets ; a scholler, a discourser, a courtier, a ruffian, a gamester, a lover, a souldier, a tra-

veller, a merchaunt, a broker, an artificer, a botcher, a pettifogger, a player, a coofener, a rayler, a beggar, an omnigatherum, a gay nothing, a storehouse of bald and baggage stuffe unwoorth the answering or reading; a triviall and triobular autor for knaves and fooles, an image of idleness, an epitome of fantafticalitie, a mirrour of vanitie: *Vanitas vanitatum, & omnia vanitas.*

Alas! that anie should say, as I have heard divers affirme, his witte was nothing but a minte of knaverie; himself a deviser of jugling feates, a forger of covetous practises, an inventor of monstrous oathes, a derider of all religions, a contemner of God and man, a desperate Lucianist, an abhominable Aretinist, an arch atheist, and he arch-deserved to be well hanged seaven yeares agoe. Twenty and twentie such familiar speeches I over-passe, and bury the whole legendary of his life and death in the sepulchre of eternal silence. I will not condemne or censure his workes, which I never did so much as superficially over-runne, but as some few of them occurfivly presented themselves in Stationers' shops, and some other houses of my acquaintance. But I pray God they have not done more harme by corruption of manners, then good by quickening of witte; and I would some buyers had either more reason to discerne, or lesse appetite to desire such novels. The world is full inough of fooleries, though the humor be not feasted with such luxurious and riotous pamphlets. Howe unlike Tully's sweete Offices, or Isocrates' pithy instructions, or Plutarches holesome morrals, or the delicate dialogues of Xenophon and Plato, or the sage tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, or the fine comedies of the daintiest Atticke wittes, or other excellent monumentes of anti-

quitie, never sufficientlie perused! Yet the one as stale as oldest fashions, and what more freshly current for a while then the other? Even Guicciardines silver history, and Ariostos golden cantoes, grow out of request; and the Countesse of Pembroke's *Arcadia* is not greene inough for queasie stomackes, but they must have Greene's *Arcadia*; and I beleewe most eagerlie longed for Greene's *Faerie Queene*! Oh, straunge fancies! oh, monstrous newfanglednesse! The wittier fort tasteth and flieth, as the dog from Nilus; other wantons find experience the mistris of fooles, and need no other pennance but their own repentaunce. The verie time confuteth vanitie, and the verie place requireth sobrietie. No publike security without private moderation; and the more bondes of government, the more indefeasible assurance. Due circumspection may do much good; and an abundant cautele can do little hurt. Youth is youth, and age corruptible: better an hundred Ouides were banished, then the state of Augustus endangered, or a foveraigne empire infected, especially in a tumultuous age, and in a world of warre; wherein not Bacchus, but Mars; not Venus, but Mercury; not ryot, but valour; not phancy, but pollicy, must strike the stroke.

Gallant gentlemen, be-thinke your selves of the olde Romane discipline, and the newe Spanishe industry, and I am not to trouble you with any other accusation of them, that condemne them selves, and need no other shame or punishment, but their owne woorkes. Onely I request some busy pennes to stay their wisedomes, and either to publish a justifiable trueth, or to conceale their bad disposition. Woe to that study, that mispendeth precious time, and consumeth it selfe in needlesse and bootlesse quarrells.

Comparifons, they fay, are odious; but invectives more odious, and what fo abhominable as forged and fuborned calumnies? One or two miserable examples may ftand for an hundred; I will not aggravate or difcourfe particulars: a pitiful cafe, that fuch lufty beginnings fhould have fuch forry ends: and who can tell what dowty yoonker may next gnafh with his teeth? Terrible creatures, and the curft cowe, have fometime fhort hornes. The wildeft colt is foon tamed; and be like neither death, nor fhame, nor misery are afraid of them, that vaunt themselves, like unto death and Will Sommer, in sparing none. God helpe, and Charity pitie them, that have neither ability to help, nor witt to pitie themselves, but will needs try a conclufion betweene their heads and the next wall.

I have heard of giants in conceit, and pigmeis in performance; yong Phaetons, younge Icary, young Chorœbi, and I fhall say young Babingtons; and how many millions of greene youths have, in overmounting, moft ruefully difmounted, and left behind them full-lamentable histories? For the very mention of fome direfull tragedies were horrible; and what fo wretched as headlong enterprifes, or fo hideous as the desperate attempt of impoffibilities? Philoftratus, in his *Icones*, pleafurably reporteth, according to the tradition of Greeke poets, how on a time a refolute band of dowty pigmies triumphantly marched to invade Hercules a fleep. Woe to fuch brave adventures! Æfop's toad, a proud aspiring creature, fhamefullie overmatched her fwelling, and burften felfe. Great and fmall things may in fome proportion be compared together, and behold as miserable a fpectacle in their kinde! Flourifhing M. Greene is moft-wofully faded; and whilst I am bemoan-

ing his over-pitteous decay, and discourfing the usuall fucceffe of fuch ranke wittes, loe! all on the fuddaine, his fworne brother, M. Pierce Pennilefs, (ftill more paltery—but what remedy? we are already over fhoes, and muft now go through) loe! his inwardeft companion, that tasted of the fatall herringe, cruelly pinched with want, vexed with difcredite, tormented with other men's felicitie, and overwhelmed with his own mifery, in a raving and franticke moode moft desperately exhibiteth his *Supplication to the Divell*. A ftrange title, an od wit, and a mad hoorefon, I warrant him. Doubtles it wil prove fome dainty devife, quiently contrived, by way of humble Supplication To the high and mighty Prince of Darkenefse; not dunfically botched up, but right-formally conveied, according to the ftile and tenour of Tarleton's prefident, his famous play of the *Seaven Deadly Sinnes*. Which moft-deadly, but moft lively, play I might have feene in London; and was verie gently invited thereunto at Oxford by Tarleton himfelfe: of whome I merrily demaunding which of the feaven was his owne deadly fin? he bluntly answered after this manner: "By God, the finne of other gentlemen, lechery." "Oh, but that, Mr. Tarleton, is not your part upon the ftage: you are too-blame, that diffemble with the world, and have one part for your frend's pleafure, another for your own." "I am fomewhat of Dr. Pernes religion," quoth he; and abruptly tooke his leave. Surely, it muft needes be current in matter, and autentical in forme, that had firft fuch a learned prefident, and is now pleafantlie interlaced with divers new-founde phrases of the taverne, and pathetically intermixt with fundry doleful pageantes of his own ruinous and beggerly experience. For the poore tenement of his

purfe (quoth himfelfe gramercy, good Tarleton) hath bene the diuel's dauncing fchool anie time this halfe year; and I pray God (quoth another) the poore tenement of his heart hath not alfo beene the diuel's fencing fchoole twice as long.

Particulars and circumftances are tedious, efpecially in forrowfull and forlorne caufes; the fumme of fummes is, he toffed his imagination a thoufand waies, and I believe fearch'd every corner of his grammar-fchoole wit (for his margine is as deepe as learned as *Faufte precor gelida*) to fee if he coulde find any meanes to relieve his eftate; but all his thoughtes and marginal notes confort'd to his con- clufion, that the worlde was uncharitable, and he ordained to be miserable. It were cruelty to add affliction to afflic- tion: what flinty heart would not figh, or rather melt, to heare the bewailfull moane of that fobbing and groning Mufe, the daughter of moft-pregnant but moft-wretched Niobe:

*Why ift damnation to defpaire and die,
When life is my true happines difeafe?*

And a little after:

*Divines and dying men may talke of Hell,
But in my heart her feverall tormentes dwell.*

And fo fourth, moft-hideouslie; for the text is much more dolefull then the glosse. And who woulde not be moved with more pittifull compunction, to heare the lamentable farewell:

*England, adieu! the foile that brought me forth;
Adieu, unkinde! where skill is nothing worth:*

Then, to read that profound quotation,

Hei mihi, quam paucos hæc mea dicta movent !

Which was thought pathological out of crie,

*Forgive him, God, although he curse his birth,
Since miserie hath daunted all his mirth.*

Now, good sweete Muse, I beseech thee, by thy delicate witte, and by all the queintest inventions of thy deviseful braine, cast not thy drearie selfe headlong into the horrible gulf of desperation ; but being a creature of so singular and wonderfull hope as thy inspired courage divineliè suggesteth, and still reare-up mountaines of highest hope, and either gallantlie advance thy vertuous self, maugre fortune, (what impossible to aspiring industry?) or mightilie enchant some magnificent Mecœnas (for thou canst doe it) to honour himselfe in honouring thee ; and to blisse the eies of the gazing worlde with beholding those miracles, which some round liberality, and thy super-thankfull mind, would hugeliè enable thee to worke. Let it never be said that the minion of the Muses should forsake himself, or abandon them whose very shadowes he adareth. A brave heart in extremest distrefs never languisheth : no such affrighting death, or gnashing hell as the devouring abyssè of dispaire. Yet better a man without money, then money without a man : pennyleffe is not his purse, but his minde ; not his revenue, but his resolution. A man is a man, though he have but a hose upon his head : for everie curse there is a blessing ; for everie malady a remedie ; for every winter a sommer ; for everie night a day ; a dog hath a day.

Nocte pluit tota : redeunt spectacula manè.

Right magnanimity never droupeth; sweet musike requickneth the heaviest spirites of dumpish melancholy: fine poetry abhorreth the loathsome and ugly shape of forlorne pensiveness: what gentle minde detesteth not cursed and damnable desperation? All abject dolefulness is woefully base, and basely woeful. The die, the ball, the sponge, the sieve, the wheel of fortune, Fortune herself—a trifle, a jest, a toy in philosophy, and divine resolution. Be a musician and poet unto thy self, that are both, and a ringleader of both unto other: be a man, be a gentleman, be a philosopher, be a divine, be thy resolute selfe, not the slave of fortune, that for every flea-biting crieth oute alas! and for a few hungry meales, like a Greeke parasite, misuseth the tragedy of Hecuba; but the friend of vertue, that is richest in poverty, freest in bondage, bravest in jeopardy, cheerfullest in calamitie: be rather wise and unfortunate with the silver swanne, then fortunate and unwise with the golden asse: remember thine owne marginal embleme, *Fortuna favet fatuis*. Oh! solace thy miraculous selfe, and cheere the Muses in cheering thy dainty soule, sweetlie drunken with their delicious Helicon, and the restorative nectar of the gods. What can I say more? That cordial liquor, and that heavenly restorative, be thy soveraigne comfort, and scorne the basenes of everie crazed or fainting thought, that may argue a degenerate mind. And so much briefly touching thy deer selfe, whome I hope never to find so pathetically distressed, or so tragically disguised againe.

Now, a word or two concerning him who in charitie kisseth thy hand, and in pitie wisheth thee better lucke. May it please gentle Pierce, in the divine fury of his ravished spirite, to be graciouslie good unto his poore friendes, who

would be somewhat loth to be filly sheepe for the wolf, or other sheep-biter. I dare undertake, the abused Autor of the Astrologicall Discourse (everie page thereof, under correction of inspired and supernaturall conceits, discovereth more art and judgement than the whole Supplication of the parturient mountaine), notwithstanding the notorious diabolicall discourse of the said Pierce, a man better acquainted with the divels of hell, then with the starres of heaven, shall unfeignedly pray for him, and only pray him to report the knownen truth of his approoved learning and living, without favor: otherwise it were not greatlie amisse a little to consider, that he, which in the ruffe of his freshest jollity was faine to cry M. Churchyard a mercy in printe, may be orderlie driven to cry more peccavies then one. I would thinke the Counter, M. Churchyard, his boftieffe Penia, and such other sensible lessons, might sufficientlie have taught him, that Pennileffe is not Lawless; and that a poet's or painter's licence is a poore security to privilege debt or difamation. I woulde with the burned child not to forget the hot element; and would advise over-weening youths to remember themselves, and the good auncient oracle of sage Apollo. There is a certaine thing called modestie, if they coulde light upon it; and, by my younge master's leave, some pritty smacke or discretion would relish well. The Athenians were noted for lavish amplifieng; the Cretenfians for craftie lying; the Theffalians for subtle cogging; the Carthaginians for deceitful perfidie; Hannibal, Fabius, Agathocles, Iphicrates, Ulisses, and a thousand such, for counterfeit policie: but all their forgeries were seasoned with the salt of probabilitie, and onelie used at occassions of advauntage: and although the Grecians generallie were

over-lightheaded and vaine spoken, yet their levitie savoured of elegant wittinesse, and the flying birde carried meate in the mouth. Even Lucian's true tales are spiced with conceits, and neither his nor Apuleius's asse is altogether an asse.

It is a piece of cunning in the most fabulous legends, to interlace some credible narrations and verie probable occurrences, to countenance and authorize the excessive licentiousnesse of the rest. Unreasonable fictions palpably bewray their odious grossenesse; and hee that will be a famous deviser in folio, must be content with the reward of a notable liar, not to be credited when he avoweth a trueth. The pleasant man talketh of a Bachelor's hooch turned over his eares for abusing of Aristotle, and imagineth goodlie matters of casting the heavens water, of anatomizing the skies in-trailles, of the universal adulterie of planets, of the bawd of those celestial bodies, how Satherne and Jupiter proved honester men then al the world took them for.

Oh, brave Tarlton! thou wert hee, when all is done: had not Aretine bene Aretine when he was, undoubtedlie thou hadst been Aretine: gramercy, capricious and transcendant wit, the onelie high Pole Artique, and deepe mineral of an incomparable stile! Yet Tarlton's jest's not sufficient, but Roscius must have his stile to make him more admirable; al were nothing, unlesse Elderton's ale-crammed nose had bene consumed to nothing in beare-baiting him with whole bundels of ballats, that forsooth is not so good a gentleman (for every heire of a Nash is a good gentleman at the least), as the beard of Thomas Nash, the maister butler of Pembroke Hal, whose grave countenance, like Cato, able to make him runne out of his wittes for feare, if he looke sternely upon him, and I wot not what, and what

trumperie else, as childish and garish stufte as ever came in print; yet what packe of vanity is not in print? I will not cry Absurd, Absurd! as he madly exclaimeth Monstrous, Monstrous!

But who in that University can deny but M. Harvey read the publike philosophie lecture with special good liking, and many will say with singular commendation, when this mightie lashing gentleman (now well read in the late exploits of Untrusse, and for Tarleton's amplifications *A per se A*) was not so much as *idoneus auditor civilis scientiæ*. What hee is improved since, excepting his good olde *Flores Poetarum*, and Tarletons surmounting rhetoric, with a little Euphuisme and Greenesse enough, which were all pretty stale before he put hand to penne. I report me to the favourablest opinion of those that know his prefaces, rimes, and the very timpanye of his Tarletonizing wit, his Supplication to the Divell; oh! that is the divell and al. I am so farre from doting uppon mine owne or my brothers writings, in any matter of moment, that I use to censure them with a more curious and rigorous judgement then I examine any thing else; wherein my eare is so loath to flatter me, and my conceit so affraid to cosen me, that my mind ever remaineth unsatisfied; and nothing hitherto could fulfill my desire, insatiably covetous to do better. But as those perfunctorie Discourses are (which were more hastilie than speedilie published without my privity), let the best of them goe for wast paper, and serve the basest shops, if the worst of them importe not more publike or private use than his gayest flower, that may thank Greene and Tarlton for his Garland. Were my brother not my brother, but some familiar acquaintance, I

might in trueth, and should in reason, make other comparisons with applause inough (for what indifferencie seeth not the difference? or what so filly as he could make Pierce with voice or pen? notwithstanding those miracles of the white raven in the cloudes); but the University, the city, the whole realm, all good learning and civill government, be their judge, and my mouth especially, in this Martinish and Counter-Martinish age, wherein the spirit of contradiction reigneth, and everie one super-aboundeth in his owne humour, even to the annihilating of any other without rime or reason.

Some would bee mutes, if they might bee suffered to be, as were meetest for them, and onelie to dwell in the excellent monuments of divine wittes, whose sweet company they cannot enjoy inough; but what is to be done when vowels are coursed, and mutes haunted, and that heavenly conference hellishlie disturbed? God or good order circumsife the tongues and pennes that flaunder without cause, and raile without effect even in the superlative degree of raving.

Aretine and the Divells Oratour might very well bee spared in Christian or politicke commonwealthes, which cannot want contagion inough, though they be not poyfened with the venomous potions of inkhorne witches. Fine pleasant witt was ever commendable, and judiciall accusation lawfull; but fie on grosse scurrility and impudent calumny, that wil rather go to hell in jest then to heaven in earnest, and seeke, not to reforme any vice, to backbite and deprave every person that feedeth not their humorous fancy. A vile mind; and what a pestelenter villany! But some odd wittes, forsooth, will needes be accounted terrible Bull beggars, and the only killcoves of their age; for how should

they otherwise keepe the fimple worlde in awe, or scare multitudes of plaine folk, like idiot crowes and innocent dooves? All the invective and fatyricall fpirits are their familiars; scoffing and girding is their daily bread: other professe other faculties, they professe the arte of railing noble, reverend, or whatsoever, all pefants and clownes, gowty divels and buckram giants, Midaffes and golden affes, cormorants and drones, dunces and hypocriticall hoat spurres, earthwormes and pinchefart penny-fathers, that feede not their hungry purfes and eager stomackes: they have termes, quoth a marvellous doer, steeped in aqua-fortis and gunpowder, that shal rattle through the skies, and make earthquakes in fuch peasauntes eares as shal dare to fend them awaie with a flea in their eare; (howe might a man purchase the fight of those puiffant and hideous terms?) they can lash poor slaves, and spurgall affes mightily; they can tell parlous Tales of Bears and Foxes, as shrewdlye as *Mother Hubbard* for her life; they will dominiere in tavernes and stationers shops, to die for't; they will be as egregiously famous as ever was Herostratus, or Pausanias, or Kett, or Scoggin: Agrippa and Rabelais but ciphers to them; they have it only in them.

Would Christ they had more discretion in them, and lesse rancour against other, that never wished them the least evill, but still beseech God to encrease the best, and to pardon the worst in them! The Quippe knoweth his reward, and the Supplication to the Divell, expressely dedicated to the Prince of Darkeness, I committe to the censure of wisdom and justice with favour; onely requesting that mightie bombardier of termes to spare quiet men that meane him no harme, and to keepe the huge maine shot of

his ratling babies for buckrame giants. Alasse! what should I touch their parents, or twit them by their other friends: let it be one of their jolities to offer, and one of our simplicities to suffer that injury, which neither impairerh the reputation of the father, nor abaseth the credit of the sonnes, nor argueth any thing but the impudent despightfulnesse of the libeller. Fewe sonnes have felinger cause to love, or reverence, or defend their fathers, then myself; but his dealing is such where he tradeth, and his living such where he converseth, that he may easely shame himselfe which goeth-about to shame him, or us in him. I will not trouble you with the rehearfall of his inheritance, which I could have wished more then it was; yet was it more, by the favour of that terrible thundersmith of termes, then the inheritances of both their fathers together. Put case I have inquired what speciall cause the Pennileffe gentleman hath to bragge of his birth, which giveth the woful poveretto good leave, even with his Stentors voice, and in his ratling terms, to revive the pittifull *Historie of Don Lazarello de Thormes*; to contend with cold, to converse with scarcitie, to be laid-open to povertie, to accuse fortune, to raile on his patrons, to bite his penne, to rend his papers, to rage in all points like a mad man, to tormente himself in that agony a long time, to be miserable, to be *vacuus viator*, to have *opus* and *usus* knocking at his doore twenty times a weeke when he is not within, to seek his dinner in Poules with Duke Humfrey, to licke dishes, to be a beggar,

To ban the aire, wherein he breathes a wretch;

to be the Divels distressed Orator, to proclaime his owne desolate and abject estat: in these and such other most-base

and shamefull complaints, scarcely befeeming the rascallest Sifer in an Univerfity, or the beggarlieft mendicant frier in a country.

Forgive him, God, although he curfe his birth.

I, but who fo exceffively thankefull to his other friends? One kind freend, more worth than two unfreendlie kinfemen: affection will relieve where nature faileth: he muft needes abound in devoted and bountifull frendes, that fheweth himfelfe fo meritoriously freendlie and fo unfpeakably gratefull:

*O friendes, no friendes, that then ungentlie frowne,
When changing fortune cafts us headlong downe.*

I had nigh-hand over-fkipped the learned allegation in the margin, folemnely avouched with a very-pathetical Pol, *Pol me occidiftis Amici*: all which, and moft of the premisses, I had altogether omitted, but that the two unmeete companions, a lordes heart and a beggars purfe, muft somewhat remember themfelves, or be a little, as it were, pulled by the ragged fleeve. Young fchollers can tel how Ulyffes handeled Irus; and olde truants have not altogether forgotten howe fawcie the Harpies were, till they were interteined accordingly. But what though the decayed gentleman fo commendeth his own woorshipful birth and trusty frendes, many noble houfes have feene their own ruines; and sometime the brothers of the Prodigall Sonne will not fticke to curfe wher they fhould reverently bleffe. The table-fellow of Duke Humfrey and Tantalus might learne of him to curfe Jupiter, and to ban not onely the four elementes, but alfo the feaven planets, and even the twelve houfes of heaven.

And what though the other forry Magnifico, as very a Bifonian as he for his life, would sweare in a bravery, his father was of foure and twenty religions, and himselfe a divine from his mothers womb, an Image of both Churches, and both Synagogues too, a natural *Perne* artificially improved, the thrife and thrife learned sonne of his foure and twenty times-learned father! So Greene would flourish. Every man is to answere for his own defaultes; my trespassse is not my fathers, nor my fathers mine; a Gibeline may have a Guelph to his sonne, as Barthol faith; and hath never a Saint had a reprobate to his father? are all worthy minds the issues of noble houses, or all base mindes the offsprings of rascall stockes? Were it not a felicity to be the woorst of a thousand, that being descended of meanest parentage have prooved, as histories testify and the world daily confirmeth? Or might not Greene, and his complices, have beene much better than they were, or are, although their parentes had been much worse than they were, or are? What faith the afflicted suppliant himselfe?

*Ah, woorthles wit, to traine me to this woe:
Ill thrive the folly that bewitch'd me so.*

Have we not a number of excellent industrious men and valorous knights, not greatly beholding unto fortune for their progeny?

Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, who knoweth not that onely arte of heraldry?

Quàm te Thersitæ similem producat Achilles. The argument of nobility is a gallant and plausible argument; but what common-place so brave and honourable as the common-place of vertue? Can any thinge bee obscure where

desert is famous, or any thing famous where desert is obscure? Gramercy, sweete margine, for that notable poesy, *meritis expendite causam*: in earnest, a singular rule of infallible judgement, and I imagine himselfe deserveth somethinge that specially alleadgeth desert. It is long since I declaimed upon any theame, but who would not pleade vertue's cause in whatsoever subjecte? or what honest eloquence is not furnished with Catilinarie and Philippiques against vice? Not the father and the sonne, but vertue and vice, the efficientes of honour and dishonour. He onely base, he onely simple, he onely contemptible, that hath Vice to his father, and Ignorance to his mother, the onely parents of rascality. And may I not truly affirme, that not only Oforius or Patritius gallantly prove, but all wise authors seriously approve, and even vertue and skill themselves, with their owne soveraine mouth, honorably professe? No right sonne and heire apparent of theirs, either unnoble in himselfe, or obscure in the world, or despised in the highest, or unregarded of the lowest, or dishonorable in his life, or inglorious after his death. I speake not for any person, but for the matter; and cannot either condignely praise the valorous feede of the one, or sufficiently blisse the fruitfull wombe of the other.

And what so ungentle in nature, or so unnoble in fortune, as their contraries? How barbarously opposed against that divine race and heavenly generation, that cannot stirre unaccompanied with envy and a worlde of moates! Yet neither the unhappiest creature, utterly devoide of all graces (I praise somethinge in Elderton and Greene), nor the excellentest personage, thoroughly accomplished with all perfections, (ah, that Sir Humfry Gilbert and Sir Phillip

Sidney hadd bene as cautelous as adventurous !) nor they that object, nor we that answere, nor any, but a few singular men, the miracles of the world, either for wit wondrous, or for art exquisite, or for action admirable, or for integrity notable. I-wis, we little neede to be charged with our fathers' offences ; it is inough for one, yea, for the best one, to carry the burthen of his own transgressions and errours. Errours are infinite ; and follies, how universally rife, even of the wifest forte ! Oh, that virtues were as like the starres of heaven, or the birds of the aire, as vices are like the fandes of the sea, and the beasts of the earth ! Hee that seeith least, seeith much amisse : the fine discoverer, and curious intelligencer, goe invifible, and stratagematically discry many hidden privities of publique and private misgovernment : there is an eie that pierceth into the secretest finnes and most inscrutable thoughtes of profoundest hypocrisy, in whose pure sight nothing is justifiable but by pardon. Divinity flyeth high, and wadeth deepe ; but even in humanity, and in the view of the world, who liveth inculpable ? or who is not obnoxious to some criminall or civill actions ? or,

*Wher shud I find that I seeke, a person clere as a christal ?
Where man God to man ? where one not Div'l to an-other ?
Where that zeal divine, whose heavenly sunshin acheerith
The dreryest drouping, and fellist rancor alayeth ?
Where thoffame mealtng bowels of tender agreement,
That mildly conquer most-rough and hideous outrage ?
Where Moses meeknes ? wher Davids sweetnes Olimpique ?
Where thatsame gentle kindnes, that bounty renowned,
That gracious favour, that whilom beautif'd honour,*

*That loove advanced, that abandoned odious hatred,
That firenized Furies, that rocks adamantine
Mollifid: arreared pillars of glory triumphant?*

and so foorth, for the verse is not unknowne, and runneth in one of those unsatyricall satyres, which M. Spencer long since embraced with an overlooving sonnet; a token of his affection, not a testimony of hys judgement.

What should I labour a needlesse point, or what should I weary you with tediousnesse, that may much-better bestow your vacant houres? Enough to any is enough, to some over-much. God knoweth, and who knoweth not, how sensually corrupt some good fellowes were, and are, that so sharply and bitterly noted, and do note, so many imaginative corruptions in other. Would God they had bene as quietly disposed as their parents, or as advisedly stayed as some of their frendes, that wished them a milder course; and some of our pens might have been employed to better use then this idle businesse, or rather busy idlenesse: whereof I desire no other fruite, but some little contentation of friendes, and some reasonable mitigation of ill-willers; unto whose good I am diligently to addresse, and even affectionately to dedicate any my endeavour. If in some tearmes I have used a little plaine dealing, albeit not without respecte (but every one seeith not into an other's considerations, and divers circumstances alter the case), I crave pardon for the least oversight, and will be as ready to commend any little good, even in an adversary, as I was unwilling, but enforced, to touch soome palpable bad, which I would wish amended where it may be redressed, and quite forgotten where it ought to be buried. My

meaning was not to displeasure or discredite any, but onely to fatisfie the pleasure and maintain the credit of those, unto whome I owe many dueties, aswell in special consideration as in naturall affection.

Had I not bene more depely stinged in them then in myself, who have made comedies of such tragedies, and with pleasure given such hoatspurres leave to run themselves out of breath, what folio of folly might not for me have passed untouched? or who for me might not have flourished or lashed in Poules Churchyarde, *cum gratia et privilegio*? It were good that they, which have a dexterity in writing trimly upon every matter, white or black, should also have a felicity in speaking well uppon every person that deserveth not ill, especially such as can say something and thinke more. The terriblest tearmes may be repayed home with advantage: I have knowen the railingest sophister in an Univerfity sett *non plus*; and have feene the mad-braineft Roifter-doifter in a countrey dashte out of countenance. There is logicke inough to aunfweare carter's logike, and play inough to tame horfe-play. Wronged men are feldome tongue-tied; the patientest creature wanteth not bloud in his hart or incke in his penne, and although his bloud be not wildfire, yet it is bloud, that will not be cooled with a carde, or daunted with bugs words; and although his incke be not pitch or poison, yet it is inke, that will neither blushe for fhame nor waxe pale for fear, but will holde his owne when perhaps gayer coullours shall lose their coullour, and aquafortis valiantly eate his owne harte.

Good sweete masters, quiet your selves, or thincke not much to bear a little for company, that are so forward to

load other without mercy. No man loather then myself to contend with desperate malecontents, or to overthwart obstinate humoristes, or to encounter incke-horn adventures; nor to quarrell with any sorte of wrangling companions (scolding is the language of shrewes, and raylinge the stile of rakehells), or so much as to call busy heads by their usuall and proper names (the thinges are paltry, and the very names favour of rascallity); but there is a time when such douty warriours mustbe appeased, and such wise men answered according to their wisedome.

Howbeit, in favour of a private and publike quietnesse, I will thanke the honest fellows the more the less occasion they geve me to interrupt better exercises, to trouble the world with triflinge discourses upon pelting matters, to disease themselves to pleasure none but the printer and idle creatures, the only busy readers of such novellets. I would gladly be specially beholdinge unto them for this courtesy, and dare undertake it shall redounde more to their credite, to approve their desire of reconciliation by silence, then to continue the opinion of their rooted despight by stirring more coales. I hope this winde hath not shaken any suche corne, but fellow-schollers (as Doctor Caius would say), and now forfooth, fellow-writers, may bee made friendes with a cup of white wine and some little familiar conference in calme and civile termes. I offer them my hande, and request their, which I will accept thanckfully, and kisse lovinglye, and ever commend the good nature that would, and the better governemente that could, master affection with reason, and sweeten gall with humanity; for it is not my energeticall perswasion, but their owne patheticall motion that must do it, as the enchanting Muse of Orpheus

redeemed the ghaftly ghost of his owne Euridice out of hell. Such an experimēte of profounde and divine art as I would compassionately recommend to every amiable minde disguised with hellishe passion, the foulest deformity of any fayre wit. Otherwise, if it stande more with their credit to be reputed wilfull then wise, or if a perverse and froward resolution be the better pollicy, they are free-men, and have incke at will, and paper at commaundement; and a number of greedy eares, that egerly longe, and, as it were, daunce attendaunce to heare those dreadfull invincible termes, steeped in aquafortis and gunpowder.

The intoxicate sprite of the grisly Eurydice (I speake to a poet, and cannot more mildly terme that infernall fury) may eftsoones returne to her accursed lodging, and insteede of heavenly Orpheus, embrace the hellish Oratour of the Black Prince, whome I will not any way make worse, but would wish infinitely better then he hath made himselfe; for I thancke God, I am neither so profanely uncharitable as to send him to the Sancebell, to trusse up his life with a trice, nor so abjectly timorous, as for extreme fearefulness to wish, with a professed devotion, So be it: Pray, penne, incke, and paper on their knees, that they may not be troubled with him any more.

Good Lorde, what fantasticall panges are these! Who ever endighted in such a stile, but one divine Aretine in Italy, and two heavenly Tarletons in England, the sole platformers of odd elocution, and onely singularities of the plaine world? Two of them, that so wantonly played with the highest and deepest subjectes of spiritual contemplation, heaven and hell, paradise and purgatory, know their locall repose, and seriously admonish the third to be advised

how he lavish in such dalliance. No variety, or infinity so infinite, as invention, which hath a huge worlde and a maine ocean of scope to disport and raunge itself, though it arreare not vaine hyperboles of the reverende mysteries of God.

Good sweete Oratour, be a divine poet indeede! and use heavenly eloquence indeede! and employ thy golden talent with amounting usance indeede! and with heroicall cantos honour right vertue, and brave valour indeede! as noble Sir Philip Sidney and gentle Master Spencer have done, with immortall fame, and I will bestow more complements of rare amplifications upon thee, then ever any bestowed uppon them, or this tounge ever afforded, or any Aretinish mountaine of huge exaggerations can bring-foorth. Right artificiality (whereat I once aimed to the uttermost power of my slender capacity) is not mad-brained, or ridiculous, or absurd, or blasphemous, or monstrous; but deepe-conceited, but pleasurable, but delicate, but exquisite, but gracious, but admirable; not according to the fantastical mould of Aretine or Rabelays, but according to the fine modell of Orpheus, Homer, Pindarus, and the excellentest wittes of Greece, and of the land that flowed with milke and honey. For what festivall hymnes so divinely dainty as the sweete psalmes of King David, royally translated by Buchanan? or what sage gnomes so profoundly pithy as the wise proverbes of King Salomon, notably also translated. But how few Buchanans! Such lively springes of streaming eloquence, and such right-Olympicall hills of amountinge witte, I cordially recommend to the dere lovers of the Muses; and, namely, to the professed sonnes of the same, Edmond Spencer, Richard Stanihurst, Abraham France, Thomas Watfon, Samuell Daniell, Thomas Nash, and the

rest, whome I affectionately thancke for their studious endeavours, commendably employed in enriching and polishing their native tongue, never so furnished or embellished as of late. For I dare not name the honourabler sonnes and nobler daughters of the sweetest and divinest Muses that ever sang in English, or other language, for fear of suspection of that which I abhorre; and their owne most delectable and delicious Exercises (the fine handy-worke of excellent nature, and excellenter arte combined) speake incomparably more than I am able briefly to insinuate.

Gentle mindes and flourishing wittes were infinitely to blame, if they should not also, for curious imitation, propose unto themselves such faire types of refined and engraced eloquence. The right noovice of pregnant and aspiring conceit will not overskippe any precious gemme of invention, or any beautifull floure of elocution, that may richly adorne, or gallantly bedecke, the trimme garland of his budding stile. I speake generally to every springing wit, but more specially to a few, and at this instante singularly to one, whom I salute with a hundred blessings, and entreate with as many prayers, to love them that love all good wittes, and hate none, but the Divell and his incarnate imps, notoriously professed. I protest it was not thy person that I any-way disliked, but thy rash and desperate proceeding against thy well-willers; which in some had bene unfufferable, in an youth was more excusable, in a reformed youth is pardonable, and rather matter of concordance then of aggrivance.

I persuade my selfe rather to hope the best, then to feare the worst; and ever wish unto other as I would wish other to wish unto mee. It is my earnest desire to begin and

ende fuch frivolous altercations at once, and were it not more for other then for myfelf, affuredly I would be the firft that fhould cancell this impertinent pamphlet, and throw the other twoo letters, with the fonnets annexed, into the fire. Let them have their fwinge, that affect to be terribly fingular; I defire not to be a blacke swanne, or to leave behind me any period in the ftile of the divels oratour, or any verfe in the vaine of his damme's poet; but rather covet to be nothing in printe, then any thinge in the ftamp of needleffe or fruitlefse contention. As I am over-ruled at this prefente, and as it ftandeth now, I am not to be mine owne judge or advocate, but am content to bee fentenced by every courteous or indifferente perufer, that regardeth honefty in perfons, or trueth in testimonies, or reason in caufes. Or feeing fome matters of fame are called in question, I am not onely willing, but defirous to underlye the verdicte even of Fame her-felfe, and to fubmit our whole credites to the voice of the people, as to the voice of equity and the oracle of God; to whose gracious favours he recommendeth your courtefy, that neither flattereth the beft, nor flaundereth the woorft, nor wilfully wrongeth any; but profeffeth duety to his superiours, humanity to his equals, favour to his inferiours, reason to all; and by the fame rule, oweth you amends for the premisses, not fpeedily difpatched, but haftily bungled-up, as you fee. London: this 8 and 9 of September.

The frend of his frendes, & foe of none.

THE FOURTH LETTER.

To the same favourable, or indifferent Reader.

HONEST gentlemen (for unto such I especially write), give me leave, in this slender pamphlet, only to fulfill the importune requestes of a few, with your small delighte and mine owne less contentmente; and pardon me though I no way affect to feede the dainty humour of curious conceites, carried with an insatiable expectation of, I wot not what, imagined perfection, which may easely display it selfe where it is, but cannot possibly appere where it is not. I presume I cannot lesse satisfie any, then I have satisfied my selfe, who, having wedded my selfe to private study, and devoted my mind to publike quietnesse, tooke this troublesome penne in hand with such an alacrity of courage as the sorry beare goeth to the stake; and now rejoyce in that which, with more haste then speede, is dispatched, as Æsop's hart, with more affection then reason, gloried in his hornes till he found his fugitive legges his surer friendes.

For, in many cases, I take it a better policy to use the flying legges, then the cumbersome horne; and at this instant I should much more have pleased my selfe, if I had still practised my former resolution, to scorne the stinging of a peevish waspe, or the biting of an elvish gnat, or the quipp of a mad companion; and rather to pocket-up a pelting injury, then to entangle my selfe with trifling businesse, or any-way to accrew to the most contemptible fellowship of the scribbling crew that annoyeth this age, and

never more accloyed the world. Alas! he is pitifully be-
stead, that in an age of pollicy, and in a world of industry
(wherein the greatest matters of government and valour
seeme small to aspiring capacities) is constrained to make
woeful Greene, and beggarly Pierce Pennyleffe, (as it were
a grasshopper and a cricket, two pretty musitians, but silly
creatures) the argumente of his stile; and enforced to en-
counter them who onely in vanity are something, in effect
nothing, in account lesse then nothing; howsoever, the
grasshopper enraged would bee no lesse then a green dragon,
and the cricket male-contented, not so little as a blacke
bell-wether, but the onely unicorne of the Muses. Some
in my case would perhaps be content, for their owne credit,
to have them notoriously so reputed; and in cunning would,
peradventure, not sticke to straine at a gnat as it were at a
camel. But plaine dealing useth no such rhethorick; they
that have eies can see, and they that have eares can heare
as sensibly as I; and I must in reason leave them, as in
prooffe I find them, either meere paper bugs, and inkehorne
pads, or a greate deale worfe, so far as the ringleaders of
leaud licentiousnes are more pestilent then the platformers
of vaine fantasticality, or the poison of corrupted mindes
is more pernicious then the venome of disguised wits. Any
flightnesse curious inough, and any cost too much, upon
such an argumente; a subiecte of losse to the writer, of
gaine to none. But duety must obey, and courtesy yeelde;
and it is the lucke of some pelting comedies to busie the
stage, as well as some graver tragedies.

Were nothing els discourfively inserted (as some little else
occasionally presented it selfe), what paper more currently
fit for the basest mechanicall uses, then that which con-

taineth the vile misdemeanours, and, truth will say, the abominable villanies of such base shifting companions ; good for nothinge, in the opinion of good mindes, but to cast away themselves, to spoile their adherentes, to pray upon their favourers, to dishonour their patrons, to infecte the aire where they breath. Might Pierce be entreated to qualifye his distempered veine, and to reclaime his unbrideled selfe, as some bold Gawins, uppon milder consideration, have bene glad to doe (good Pierce, be good to thy good friendes, and gentle to thy gentle selfe) I assuredly would be the first that should wrap-up such memorials, not in a sheete of waste paper, but in the winding-sheete of oblivion ; and will not sticke to embalme the dead corpse of a professed ennemy, to sweeten the living spirit of a wished friend, howsoever extreemely meane or famously obscure. The gracious lawe of annesty, a soveraine law ; but the divine law of charity, the law of lawes. Who cannot contemne the insolentest arrogancy ? but who must not condescend to any reasonable accord ? Hee that was never dismayed with any necessary distresse, yet ever escheweth all unnecessary trouble ; and he that least feareth the sword of unjust calumny, yet most dreadeth the scabbard of just infamy, and would gladly avoide the lightest suspition of that which hee abhorreth. Though the painted sheath bee as it is, (for it needeth no other painter to pourtray it selfe), yet never childe so delighted in his ratling baby, as some old Lads of the Castell have sported themselves with their rappinge babble. It is the proper weapon of their profession ; they have used it at large, and will use it at pleasure, howsoever the patient heale himselfe at their cost. It were a worke of importance to aunswere that weapon ; I long since gave them over in

the plaine field, and am now beecome a suter to their towardeſt ſchollers, to remember the glorious conqueſt of their witty maſters. I would willingly pleaſe, or not diſpleaſe, as I may ; but no life without ſelf-contentment, no performance of any action without reſolution. The leaſt may thinke upon Fabius Maximus, who with an honourable obſtinacy purſued the courſe of his owne platforme, notwithstanding a thouſand empeachments ; and although ſlowly, with much murmuring, yet effectually with more reputation, atchieved his politicke purpoſe : like an experte pilot, that in a hideous tempeſt regardeth not the fooliſhe ſhriekings, or vaine outcries of diſorderly paſſengers, but beſtirreth himſelfe, and directeth his marriners according to the wiſe rules of orderly navigation.

A wavering and fleeting minde ſeldome or never accompliſheth any negotiation of value. It is none of the leaſt comfortes in diſtreſſe that patience is an excellent quality, and conſtancy the honourableſt vertue in the world. I am not to dilate, where a ſentence is a diſcourſe, and a woorde more then inough. It hath beene my deſire to conforme my intentions to my quality, and my exerciſes to my intentions ; but as they are, it ſhall go very-hard before I begin to abandon hope, or relente to frivolous motions, or forget my ſelfe and my friends to remember my ennemies, who are beſt remembred when they are moſt forgotten. Some are cunning, and can imaginatively caſt beyonde the moone ; but he is a ſimple temporifer that would attempt to raiſe a fantaſticall or putative opinion in an active worlde, and who ſo kindly cooſeneth himſelfe as that he that ſeeketh a cloak to cover his owne fluggiſh idleneſſe, or unweeldy inſufficiency ?

Let them affect myfticall commendation that professe occult philosophy ; and let them crofsbite themselves that can find no other conny-catchers to play that part. It was a principall maxim in Socrates' discipline, that every one should contend to be indeede whatsoever he would covet to seeme in appearance: some that have often recommended that maxim unto other, and often called it the soveraign rule of sound and honourable proceeding, were never forwarder to allow his precept in discourse, then ready to follow his example in practise. There bee other inough to make a gallant shew ; and some trim fellows will not stick to maintaine a brave paradoxe, that the opinion and semblance of thinges neither ever was, nor is now, inferiour to the very thinges themselves, but in preferment and reputation many times superiour. I am not here to argue the case. Fortune is a favourable lady to some forward adventurers : they may easely swim that are holden up by the chinne ; such and such have lived in estimation, and purchased lands, but what did they ever effectuate of any worth, or wherein appered ther sufficiency to discharge any weighty function, or to performe any notable act ? A reed is a sory staffe, and fortune as changeable as the moone : no counterfeit or pretended commendation endureth long ; only desert holdeth out infallibly when many a goodly gentleman beshreweth himselfe. I must not stand upon particularities : no education to the trainement of Cyrus, nor any proceeding to the employment of Cæsar.

Pregnant rules availe much, but visible examples amount incredibly : experience, the only life of perfection, and only perfection of life. Whatsoever occasion causeth me to be mistaken, as over-much addicted to theory, without respect

of action (for that is one of the especiallest points which I am importuned to resolve), I never made account of any study, meditation, conference, or exercise, that importeth not effectual use, and that aymeth not altogether at action, as the singular marke whereat every art and every vertue is to levell. I love method, but honour practise: must I shew the difference? Either arte is obscure, or the quickest capacity dull, and needeth methode, as it were the bright moone, to illuminate the darksome night; but practise is the bright sun that shineth in the day, and the soveraigne planet that governeth the world, as else-where I have copiously declared.

To excell ther is no way but one, to marry studious arte to diligent exercise; but where they must be unmarried, or divorced, geve me rather exercise without arte, then arte without exercise. Perfect use worketh masteries, and disgraceth unexperienced arte. Examples are infinite, and dayly display themselves. A world without a funne; a boddy without a soule; nature without arte; arte without exercise: sorry creatures! Singular practise the only singular and admirable woorkeman of the world.

Must I dispatch the rest that is exacted? It is no fit place, and the least little will seeme too-much. As in other thinges, so in artes, formality doth well, but materiality worketh the feat. Were artists as skillfull as artes are powerfull, wonders might be atchieved by art emproved; but they that understand little write much, and they that know much write little. The vayne peacocke with his gay coullours, and the pratling parrat with his ignorant discourtes (I am not to offend any but the peacock and the parrat), have garishly disguised the worthiest artes, and

deepely discredited the profoundest artistes, to the pitiful defacement of the one, and the shamefull prejudice of the other. Rodolph Agricola, Philip Melancthon, Ludovike Vives, Peter Ramus, and divers excellent schollers, have earnestly complained of artes corrupted, and notably reformed many absurdities; but still corruption engendreth one vermine or other, and still that pretious trainement is miserably abused which should be the fountaine of skill, the roote of vertue, the seminary of government, the foundation of all private and publike good.

The methodist and discourser might be more materiall, the theorist and practitioner more formall, all fower more effectuall; or how commeth it to passe, that much more is professed, but much lesse perfourmed, then in former ages? especially in the mathematikes, and in naturall magic, which being cunningly and extensively imployed (after the manner of Archimedes, Archytas, Apollonius, Regiomontanus, Bacon, Cardan, and such like industrious philosophers, the secretaries of art and nature) might wonderfully bestead the commonwealth with many puissant engines, and other commodious devices for warre and peace. In actuall experimentes and polymechany, nothing too-profound; a superficiall flightnesse may seeme fine for sheetes, but proveth good for nothinge: as in other businesse, so in learninge, as good never a whit, according to the proverb, as never the better; one perfect mechanician worth ten unperfect philosophers: an ignorant man lesse shameth himselfe, lesse beguileth his friend, lesse disableth the commonwealth, than a putative artiste; a whole naturall wit more serviceable, and more sufficient, then a demi-scholler, who, presuming on that which he hath not, abateth the force of that which he hath.

He must not dreame of perfection, that emproveth not the perfectest art with most perfect industrie. A snatch and away, with Neoptolemus and the common sort of studentes, may please a little, but profiteth nothing. It is the body, not the shadow, that dispatcheth the businesse. The flower delighteth to-day, and fadeth to-morrow; the fruite edifieth and endureth; the visard, the painted sheath, and such terrible braveries, can best report their owne entertainment: the peacocke and the parrat have good leave to pranke uppe themselves, and leysure inough to revive and repolish their expired workes. What can last allwayes? quoth the neat tayler, when his fine seames began to cracke their credit at the first drawing-on. I appeale to Poules church-yard, whether lines be like unto seames; and whether the deft writer be as sure a workeman as the neat taylor? There may be a fault in the reader aswell as in the weaver; but every man contente himselfe to bear the burthen of his owne faults: and, good sweete autors, infourme yourselves before you undertake to instruct other.

Excellent effectes must flow from the spring of excellent causes; and nothing notable without notable endeavour. The print is abused that abuseth, and earnestly beseecheth flourishing writers not to trouble the presse, but in case of urgent occasion or important use. Or if you conceive extraordinarily of your owne pregnancy, and will needes employ your youthfull tallent, remember that corruptions in manners, and absurdities in arte, have too-lately overflowed the banckes of all good modesty and discretion. Hee that hath but halfe an eie can see no lesse; and he that hath but halfe a tonge may say more: I onely note by the way, that hindereth many a gallant wit in the way; and, without

empeachment to any, with all rather to be excellent with Socrates, then to seeme famous with the philosopher of the Court.

My meaning is not to teach, but to touch : and, albeit, I have cursorily spoken somethinge for my selfe, and something as it were against other ; yet the one little, and the other lesse, are both uttered with a mind that will rather excuse other then my selfe, and rather accuse my selfe then other, wheresoever I find the least reason for them, or the least cause against my selfe : and if in any thing I am any thing, it is in nothing so much as in a zealous desire to see learning flourish, vertue prosper, the good proceede from better to better, the bad amend, the body cherish the members, the members tender the body ; all generally maintaine concord with all ; every one particularly nourish accord with every one. Howbeit, at this instant I must crave licence to stand upon such tearmes, not as I would most willingly choose, but as the present occasion forcibly suggesteth. No man loather to minister the least, or to take the greatest, occasion of publike contention, or private discontentment : choler is as soone inflamed as flax ; and small sparkles of diffention have kindled horrible fires of faction : there be wrangling and quarreling hoatspurres enough, though I be none. *Ignis fatuus* never so spritishly busy, never so many threatning comets, never such a terrible sky of blasfing and falling stars, never such lusty stirring of lively coales and dead cinders : every Martin junior, and puny Pierce, a monarch in the kingdome of his owne humour : every pert and crancke wit, in one odd veine or other, the onely man of the University, of the city, of the realme, for a flourish or two : who but he, in the flush of his

overweening conceit? give him his peremptory white rod in his hand, and God night all distinction of persons, and all difference of estates: his pen is his mace, his lance, his two-edged sword, his sceptre, his Hercules's club, and will beare a predominant sway in despite of vaineglorious titles and ambitious degrees. Lordes must take heede how they lord-it in his presence; but he, forsooth, may play the Lord Great Master, *cum gratia*; and a fawcy fophter take upon him, like a mighty tyrant, *cum privilegio*.

God help, when Ignorance and Want of Experience, usurping the chayre of scrupulous and rigorous Judgement, will, in a fantastickall imagination, or, percase, in a melancholy moode, presume farther, by infinite degrees, then the learnedest men in a civil commonwealth, or the sagest counsellors in a prince's court. Our new-new writers, the loadstones of the press, are wonderfully beholdinge to the asse, in a manner the onely autor, which they alledge: the world was ever full inough of fools, but never so full of asses in print; the very elephant, a great asse; the camel, a huge asse; the beare, a monstrous asse; the horse, an absurd asse; the fox himself a little asse, or, for variety, an ape: who not an asse, or an ape in good plaine English, that chanceth to come in the wise asse-makers and mighty apedubbers' way? They are fine men, and have many sweete phrases: it is my simplicity that I am so slenderly acquainted with that dainty stile, the only new fashion of current eloquence *in esse*; far surpassing the stale vein of Demosthenes or Tully, Jewel or Harding, Whitgift or Cartwright, Sidney or Spencer. But I could wish ignorance would favour it selfe; and it were not amisse, that want of experience should be content to be a little modest,

or somewhat quiet; and both enforce les occasion to be termed, as they will needes notoriously proclaime themselves, as it were with a public Oh-is, or a generall *Noverint universi per præsentes*. For if any thing, indeede, be a right asse in print, it is the one; and if any thing, indeede, be a right calfe in print, it is the other: Ignorance the famoufest asse, and want of Experience the notablest calfe in the world. Yet the one the terrible controwler, the other the singuller refourmer of the world: both the busiest adventurers, and doughteeft doers in a world. They trouble many much, some exceedingly, themselves most, mee little, who can very well leave them to the jollity of their owne swinge, or onely pray them to stay the nimble course of their forward wisedomes, till they have soberly reade, and hearde a little, and a little more (for I wis something resteth unconsidered), and till they have effectually seene and tried a great deale, and a great deal more (for much remaineth unaproved): I love not to sollicite them greatly that love to importune all other excessively.

That little I have done, I have done compelled, and would wish undone, rather then any storme of debate, or the least fit of mallice, should insue thereof. Let them glory in pen scolding and paper brabbling, that list; I must not, I cannot, I will not. I hate to intend such arrant paltry; not for fear, but for contempt; not for lasinesse, but for weightier businesse. Good honest youthes, spare an old truante, meeter now to play the dumme dog with some ancientes, then the bauling cur, or the hissing snake, with you springals: a thousand examples pierce deepe, and over-sensibly teach me the miserable inconvenience of such mischiefe, and the miserable mischief of such inconvenience: better a pecke

of troubles then a load of agonies ; no plague to irksome vengeance, no joy or treasure to industrious imploiment, no felicity to a commodious intercourse of sweete study, sweeter conversation, and sweetest action: that wanteth must be supplied, as sufficient as it may: extraordinary incombrances little neede ; time is pretious, and would not be prodigally wasted in wast paper, or contemptuously thrust out by the shoulders.

My first letter was in a manner voluntary, my second in a fort necessary, this wholly superfluous, but violently extorted after the rest ; all wearisome unto me, but this most tedious, and any thing more would seeme intollerable, especially in the invective vein: the little fury of this age, and great incendiary of the world, whose unmeasurable outrage I would rather mitigate with twenty insinulative and persuasive orations, then any way aggravate with one offensive or defensive letter. Some comicall jars may be endured, but no act so joyful as the plaudite ; and whatsoever the beginning happeneth to be, I would allwayes with a pleasant or amicable end, the scope whereat I as dilligently aime, as any that most religiously affecteth unity. Onely my determination is, rather to be a sheepe in Wolfes printe, then to suffer my selfe, or my dearest frendes, to be made sheepe in the wolfes walke ; and onely my request is, that every discreete and courteous minde will as considerately weigh the cause, as censoriously note the effect. I hope there neither is, nor shalbe any default committed, but may in convenient time bee redressed with some reasonable amendes ; untill which time I am not to dedicate any thing unto any personage of name, but a mind affectionately desirous to honour the worthiest, to reverence the

wifest, to commend the learnedest, to embrace the best, to appease the worst, to injury none, to render every one the uttermost of his desart or other quality; which mind I entirely recommend unto you all, and you all unto God, whome I beseech to accomplish that which I cannot effect, and even to worke a miracle uppon the deafe. London, this 11 and 12 of September.

Your affectionate frend, G. H.

GREENES MEMORIALL;
OR CERTAINE
FUNERALL SONNETS.

*To the foresaid Maister Emmanuell Demetrius,
Maister Christopher Bird, and all gentle
wits that will vouchsafe the reading.*

SONNET I.

His Repentance that meant to call Greene to his aunfweare.

ALAS! that I so hastily should come
To terrifie the man with fatall dread,
That deemed quiet Pennes or dead or dum,
And stoutly knockt poore Silence on the head.

Enough can say, dead is the dog of spite :
 I, that for pitie praised him alive,
 And smil'd to hear him gnar, and see him bite,
 Am not with fory carcasses to strive.
 The worst I list of famous him report :
 Poules hath the onely pregnant autor lost.
 Aihme ! quoth Wit, in lamentable fort,
 What worthy wight shall now commaund the rost ?
 Fame heard the plaint, and pointed at a man
 As *greene* as Greene, and white as whitest swanne.

SONNET II.

*His misfortun, in being spitefully injured by some whom
 he partially commended.*

UNLUCKY I, unhappiest on earth,
 That, fondly doting upon dainty witts,
 And deeply ravish'd with their luring fitts,
 Of gentle favours find so hard a dearth !
 Is it my fate, or fault, that such fine men
 Should their commender so unkindly bite,
 That looves to loove, in spite of rankest spite,
 And hates to hate, with hart, or tongue, or pen ?
 Sweet writers, as yee covet to be sweet,
 Nor me, nor other, nor your selves abuse ;
 Humanity doth courteously peruse
 Each act of frend, or foe, with favour meet.
 Foul Divel, and fouler malice, cease to rave :
 For every fault I twenty pardons crave.

SONNET III.

His admonition to Greenes Companions.

THE flourishing and gaily-springing wight,
 That vainely me provok'd with vile reproch,
 Hath done his worst, and hath no more to broche,
 Maugre the divell of villanous despite.
 I cannot raile, what-ever cause to rail;
 For charity I lovingly imbrace,
 That me for envy odiously deface,
 But in their highest rage extreamely faile.
 I can doe him no harme that is in heaven;
 I can doe him no good that is in hell:
 I wish the best to his survivours fell,
 Deepely acquainted with his *six*, and *seven*.
 O! be not like to Death, that spareth none:
 Your *greenest* flower and peacockes taile is gone.

SONNET IV.

The miserable end of wilful desperatenesse.

THE jolly fly dispatch'd his filly selfe;
 What storyes quaint, of many a douty fly
 That read a lecture to the ventrous elfe?
 Yet he will have his lusty swing to dy.
 Currage and sturring witt in time do well;
 But that same obstinate Desperation,
 A furious fiend of selfe-devouring hell,
 Rushing with terrible commination,
 (What storm so hideous as Rage's spell?)
 Concludes with horrible lamentation.

Each blessed tongue accurse malediction,
 The ugly mouth of ruthful confusion.
 Nothing so doulcely sweete, or kindly deare,
 As sugred lips, and hart's delicious cheare.

SONNET V.

The learned should lovingly affect the learned.

I am not to instruct where I may learne,
 But where I may persuasively exhort;
 Nor over-dissolute, nor over-sterne,
 A courteous honesty I would extort.
 Good loathes to damage or upbraid the good;
 Gentle, how loovely to the gentle wight!
 Who seeith not how every blooming budd
 Smileth on every flower fairely dight,
 And biddeth fowle illfavouredness God-night?
 Would *Alciats* Emblem, or sum scarlet whood,
 Could teach the pregnant sonnes of shiny light
 To interbrace each other with delight!
 Fine Mercury conducts a dainty band
 Of Charites and Muses, hand in hand.

SONNET VI.

His Palace of pleasure.

I WOTT not what these cutting huffe-snuffes meane;
 Of alehouse daggers I have little skill;
 I borrow not my phraze of knave or queane,
 But am a debtour to the civill quill.
 It is restorative unto my hart

To heare how gentle Cheeke and Smith convers'd ;
No daintier peece of delicatest art,

Then cordiall stories charmingly rehears'd,
That whilom rudest wooddes and stones emperc'd.

Who now beginnes that amiable part ?
Haddon farewell, and Ascham thou art stale,
And every sweetnes tastes of bitter bale.

Oh, let me live to interview the face
Of faire Humanity, and bounteous Grace !

SONNET VII.

His unfained wish.

NEVER Ulysses or Æneas tyr'd

With toyling travailes, and huge afflictions,
As arrant penne and wretched page bemyr'd

With nasty filth of rancke-maledictions.

I feldome call a snarling curre, a curre ;

But with the gnarring dog as sweete a mouth,
As bravest horse, that feeleth golden spurr ;
Or shrillest trompe, that foundeth North or South ;

Or most enchaunting Sirens voice uncouth.

Self-gnawing harts, and gnashing teeth of murr,

How faine would I see Orpheus reviv'd,

Or Suadas hoony bees in you rehiv'd !

Oh, most delicious hooney-dewes infuse
Your daintiefl influence into their Muse !

SONNET VIII.

A Continuation of the same wish.

LET them forgett their cancred peevishnes,

And say to Choler fell, Thou wert our fall ;

Hadst thou not boilde in fretting waywardnes,
 We might have laugh'd at Fortune's tossing ball.
 Choler, content thy malecontented selfe;
 And cleereſt Humour, of right ſanguine pure,
 Neatly refin'd from that felonious elfe,
 With jovial graciousnes thy ſelfe enure,
 If ever ſilver conduictes were abroche
 Of ſtreaming Witt, and flowing Eloquence:
 Yee fluds of milk and hoony reapproche,
 And bounteouſly poure-out your quinteſſence.
 Gently aſſemble, delicacies all,
 And ſweetely nectarize this bitter gall.

SONNET IX.

*His revival of a former motion; added at the inſtance
 of an eſpeciall friend.*

WERE I as meeke as willing to adviſe,
 I would in amicable termes entreat
 Some forward wits to change their headlong guiſe,
 And leſſe in print, and more in mint to ſweat.
 Pithagoras and Apollonius ſage,
 Two woonders of capacity divine,
 Trained their followers to temper rage,
 And tongue with curious ſilence to refine.
 There is a time to ſpeake, a time to write,
 But bleſſed be the time that ſees and heares:
 Let petty ſtarres ſuppreſſe their twinckling light,
 And glorious funne advance his beamy peeres!
 O, you of golden mould, that ſhine like ſun,
 Display your heavenly giftes, and I have dun!

SONNET X.

A more particular Declaration of his intention.

YET let Affection interpret felfe :
Arcadia brave, and dowty *Faery Queene*,
 Cannot be stain'd by Gibelin or Guelph,
 Or goodliest legend that Witt's eye hath seene.
 The dainty hand of exquisitest art,
 And nimble head of pregnantest receipt,
 Never more finely plaid their curious part
 Then in those lively christals of conceit.
 Other fair wittes I cordially embrace,
 And that sweete Muse of azur dy admire ;
 And must in every sonnet interlace
 The earthly soveraign of heavenly fire.
 A fitter place remaineth to implore,
 Of deepest artists the profoundest lore.

SONNET XI.

His Desire to honour excellent Perfections in the best.

Another addition, inserted at the request of one that might commaunde.

BLACKKE Art, avaunt ! and haile, thrice-grace-full Grace,
 That whitest white on earth or heaven exceeds
 In purity, and soverignty immense !
 Or locke my mouth, or schoole my infant lippes,
 Resplendent lights of Milky Way to sing,
 Rare subjectes of thy indulgence supream.
 Yet what should I conspicuous mirrours sing,
 That radiantly display their beauteous beames

Of gliftring Vertue and refhining Witt,
 The luminaries great of little world?
 Folly impossibilities attempts;
 Astonifhment fuch brightneffe beft becummes:
 Or lend me, Pegafus, thy mounting winges,
 And let me heare how quire of Angels finges.

SONNET XII.

His Court of Honour.

WERE fine Caftilio the heire of grace,
 What gallant port more graciously fine?
 As dainty Petrarch was sweete Sirens fonne,
 What witching tune more Orpheoufly sweete?
 Him, him, the Idee high, and deepe abyffe,
 Of noble excellence I would proclaime.
 But what fhould drowfy Mufe of phantoms dreame?
 Caft glauncing eie into queene Pallas court,
 And fcorne the dimnes of thy dazeled fight,
 Aftound with lord-and lady-graces view;
 Idees how high, abyffes how profounde,
 Of valour brave, and admirable woorth!
 Poore glimmering gemmes, & twinckling ftars, adieu:
 Here, here the fun and moone of Honor true.

SONNET XIII.

His interceffion to Fame.

LIVE ever, valorous renowned knightes;
 Live ever, Smith and Bacon, peereles men;
 Live ever, Walsingham and Hatton wife;
 Live ever, Mildmayes honorable name.

Ah! that Sir Humfry Gilbert should be dead ;
Ah! that Sir Philip Sidney should be dead,
Ah! that Sir William Sackvill should be dead ;
Ah! that Sir Richard Grinvile should be dead ;
Ah! that brave Walter Devreux should be dead !
Ah! that the flowre of knighthood should be dead !
Which, maugre deadliest deathes and stonyest stones,
That cover worthiest worth, shall never dy.
 Sweete Fame, adorne thy glorious triumph new,
 Or vertues all, and honours all, adieu.

SONNET XIV.

A Repetition of the former Petition.

But Vertues all, and Honours all, survive ;
And Vertues all, and Honours all, inflame.
Brave mindes to platfourme, and redoubted handes,
To doe such deedes, and such exploits achieve,
As they, and they courageously perform'd.
Egregious men, and memorable knightes !
Ay memorable knightes, whiles funne shall shine,
And teach industrious worth to shine like funne,
To live in motion and action hoat,
To eternize Entelechy divine,
Where Plutarches Lives, where Argonautiques brave,
Where all heroique woonderments concurr,
 Oh! Oh! and Oh! a thousand thousand times,
 That thirsty eare might heare archangels rimes.

SONNET XV.

THEN would I fo my melody adoulce,
 And fo attune my harmony to theirs,
 That fellest Fury fhould confesse her felfe
 Enchaunted mightily with charmes divine;
 And in the sweetest termes of facred leagues,
 With pure devotion reconcile her rage.
 Meane-while I feeke, and feeke, but cannot finde
 That jewell rare, of preciouffest worth,
 Gentle Accord and foveraigne Repose,
 The paradise of earth and bliffe of heaven.
 Be it in earth, ô heaven direct my courfe;
 Be it in heaven alone, ô earth farewell.
 Or well-fare Patience, that sweetens fowre,
 And reares on hellifh earth an Heavenly Boure.

SONNET XVI.

*His professed Difdaine to aunfweare Vanity in fome, or to
 envy Prosperity in any.*

SOME me have fpited with a cruell fpite,
 But Fount of Mercy fo recliffe my finne,
 As I nor them maligne, nor any wight,
 But all good mindes affect like deereft kinne.
 Small caufe I have to fcorne in any fort,
 Yet I extreamely fcorne to aunfweare fome,
 That banifh confcience from their report,
 And overwantonly abuse the dumme.
 God keepe low-countrymen from high difdaine:
 Yet I difdaine with haughtieft contempt,

To envy any persons fame or gaine,
Or any crooked practife to attempt.
Jefu! that we fhould band like John Oneale,
That tenderly fhould melt in mutuall zeal.

SONNET XVII.

His Exhortation to Atonement and Love.

O MINDES of heaven, and wittes of higheft fphere,
Molten moft tenderly in mutuall zeale,
Each one with cordiall indulgence forbeare,
And bondes of love reciproquely enfeale.
No rofe, no violet, no fragrant fpice,
No nectar, no ambrofia fo sweet
As gracious love, that never maketh nice,
But every one embraceth, as is meet.
Magnes and many thinges attractive are,
But nothing fo allective under fkyes,
As that fame dainty amiable ftarre,
That none but grifly mouth of hell defyes.
That ftarre illuminate celeftiall harts,
And who but Rancour feeleth irkefome fmartes?

SONNET XVIII.

John Harveys Welcome to Robert Greene.

COME, fellow Greene, come to thy gaping grave,
Bid Vanity and Foolery farewell;
Thou over-long haft plaid the madbrain'd knave,
And over-loud haft rung the bawdy bell.
Vermine to vermine muft repaire at laft;

No fitter house for busy folke to dwell;
 Thy Conny-Catching pageants are past,
 Some other must those arrant stories tell.
 These hungry wormes thinke longe for their repast:
 Come on, I pardon thy offence to me,
 It was thy living; be not so aghast;
 A fool and a phisition may agree,
 And for my brothers never vex thy selfe,
 They are not to disease a buried else.

SONNET XIX.

His Apology of himselfe and his Brothers.

YET fie on lies, and fie on false appeales!
 No Minister in England lesse affectes
 Those wanton kisses that leaud Folly steales
 Then he whome onely Ribaldry suspectes.
 Were I a foole (what man playes not the foole?
 The world is full of fooles, and full of sectes)
 Yet was John never spoyled with the toole
 That Richard made; and none but none infectes.
 The third is better knowne in Court and schoole,
 Then thy vaine *Quipp* or my *Defence* shalbe:
 Whose eie but his that fitts on Slaunders stoole,
 Did ever him in Fleete or prison see?
 Lowd Mentery small confutation needes:
 Avaunt! black beaſt, that fowes ſuch curſed feedes.

SONNET XX.

His Apology of his good Father.

AH! my deere Father, and my parent sweete,
Whose honesty no neighbour can impeach;
That any ruffian should, in termes unmeete,
To your discredit shamefully outreach.
O rakehell hand! that scribled him a knave,
Whom never enemy did so appeach;
Repent thy wicked selfe, that so didst rave,
And cancell that which Slaunders mouth did teach.
Nor every man, nor every trade is brave;
Malt, haire, and hempe, and sackcloth must be had:
Truth, him from odious imputations save,
And many a gallant gentleman more bad.
Four sonnes him cost a thousand pounds at left.
Well may he fare, and thou enjoy thy rest!

SONNET XXI.

His charitable Hope, and their eternal Repose.

LET memory of grose abuses sleepe:
Who over-shooteth not in recklesse youth?
Were finnes as redd as reddest scarlet deepe,
A penitentiall hart preventeth ruth.
Well-wishing Charity presumes the best;
Nothing impossible to powreful Trueth:
Body to grave, and foule to heaven addrest,
Leave upon earth the follies of their youth.
Some penury bewaile, some feare arrest;
Some Parmaes force, some Spanyardes gold addread:

Some underly the terrible inquest ;
 Some carry a jelous, some a climbing head :
 We that are dead, releas'd from living woes,
 Soundly enjoy a long, and long repose.

SONNET XXII.

*L'Envoy: or an Answer to the Gentleman that drunke to
 Chaucer upon View of the former Sonnets, and other
 Cantos, in honour of certain brave men.*

SOME tales to tell, would I a Chaucer were :
 Yet would I not even now an Homer be ;
 Though Spencer me hath often Homer term'd,
 And Monsieur Bodine vowd as much as he.
 Envy and Zoilus, two busy wightes,
 No petty shade of Homer can appere,
 But he the Divell, and she his dam display,
 And Furies fell annoy sweete Muses cheere.
 Nor Martins I, nor Counter-martins squibb :
 Enough a doo to clere my simple selfe.
 Momus gainst heaven, and Zoilus gainst earth,
 A quipp for Gibeline, and whip for Guelph.
 Or purge this humour, or woe-worth the state,
 That long endures the one or other mate.

*Robertus Grenus, utriusque Academiæ Artium Magister,
 de Seipso.*

ILLE ego, cui rifus, rumores, festa, puellæ
 Vana libellorum scriptio, vita fuit :
 Prodigus ut vidi Ver, Æstatemque furoris,
 Autumno, atque Hyemi, cum Cane dico vale.
 Ingenii bullam ; plumam artis ; fistulam Amandi ;
 Ecquæ non misero plangat avena tono ?

Gabriel Harveius, desideratissimæ animæ Joannis fratris.

AT Junioris erat, Seniori pangere carmen
Funebre, ni Fati lex violenta vetet.
Quid frustra exclamem, Frater, fraterrime Frater!
Dulcia cuncta abeunt ; tristia fola manent.
Totus ego funus, pullato squallidum amictu,
Quamvis cælicolæ, flebile dico vale.

*To the Right Worshipfull my singular good Friend,
Mr. Gabriell Harvey, Doctor of the Lawes.*

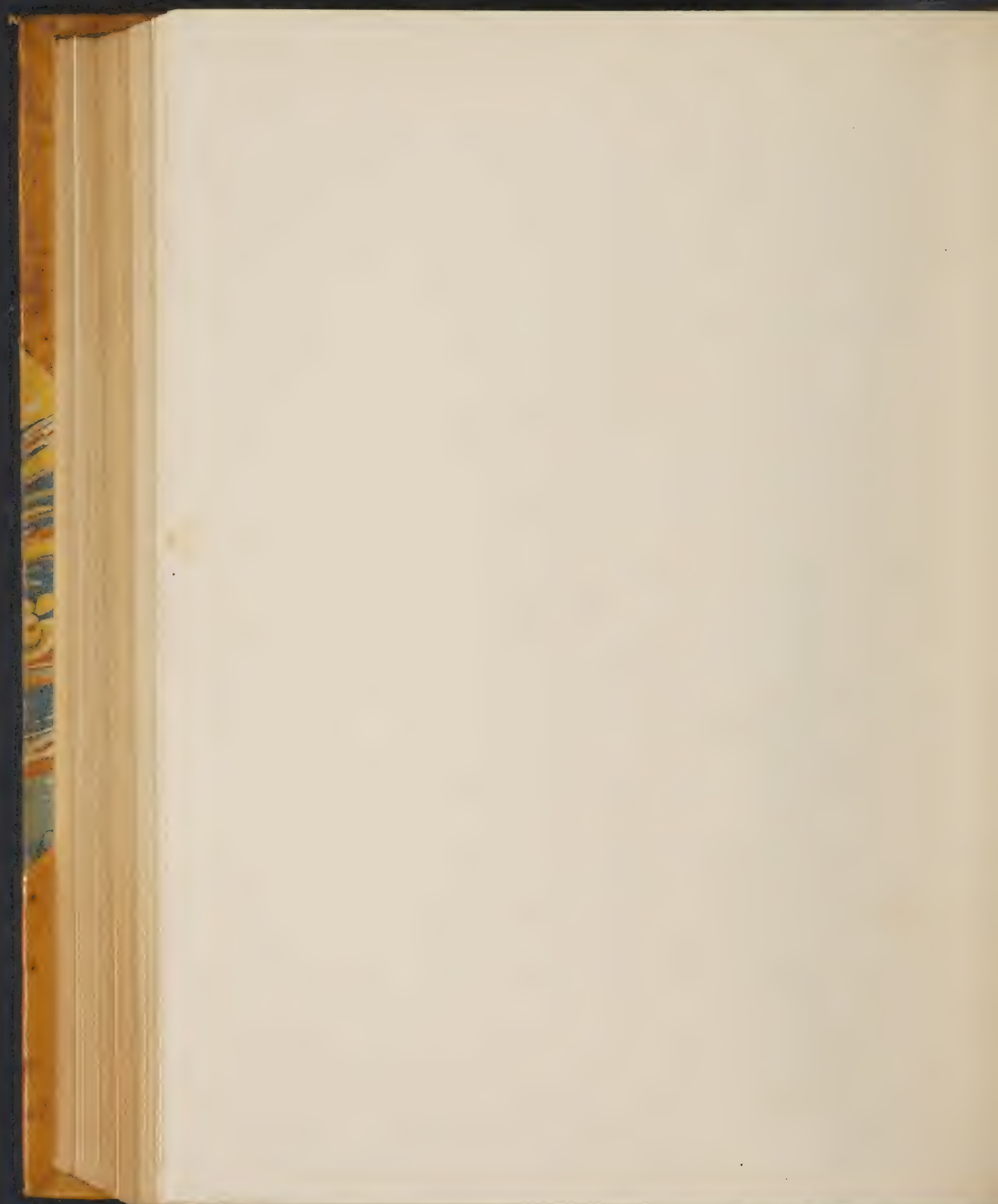
HARVEY, the happy above happiest men,
I read, that fitting like a looker-on
Of this worlds stage, doest note, with critique pen,
The sharpe dislikes of each condition ;
And, as one carelesse of suspition,
Ne fawnest for the favour of the great,
Ne fearest foolish reprehension
Of faulty men, which daunger to thee threat :
But freely doest of what thee list entreat,
Like a great lord of peerelesse liberty,
Lifting the good up to high Honours feat,
And the evill damning evermore to dy ;
For life and death is in thy doomefull writing,
So thy renowme lives ever by endighting.

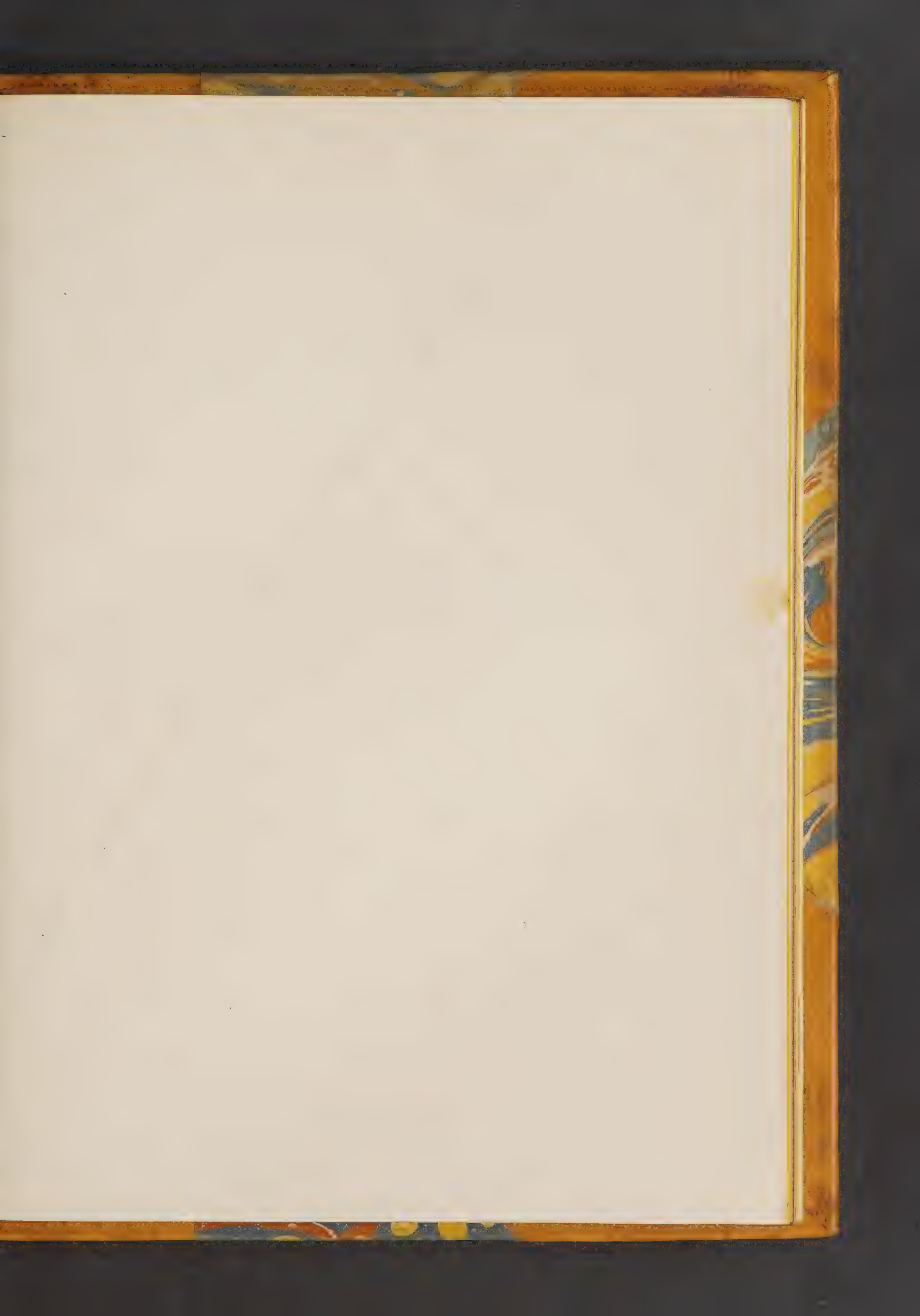
Dublin, this 18 of July, 1586.

Your devoted frend during life,

EDMUND SPENCER.

FINIS.



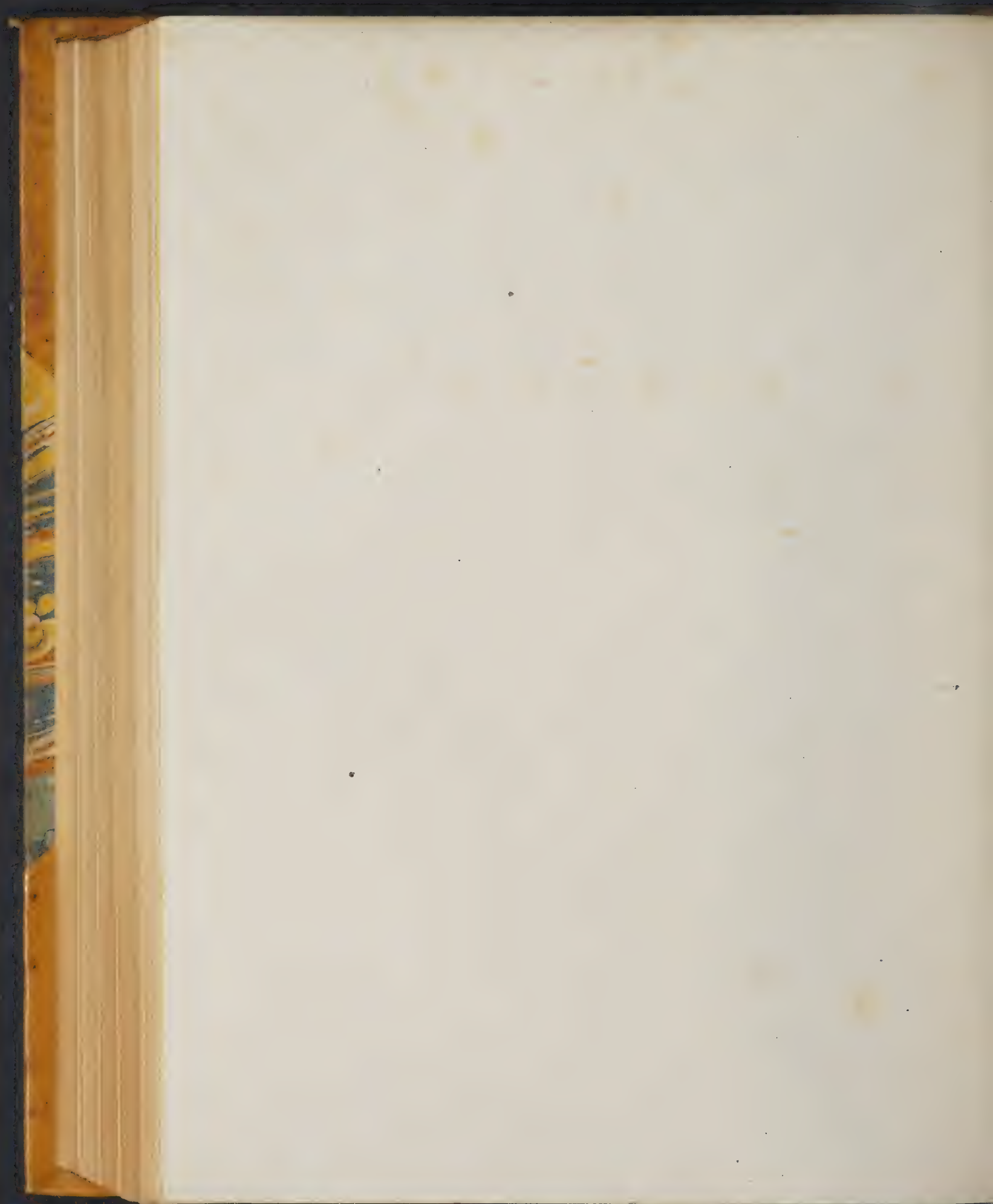


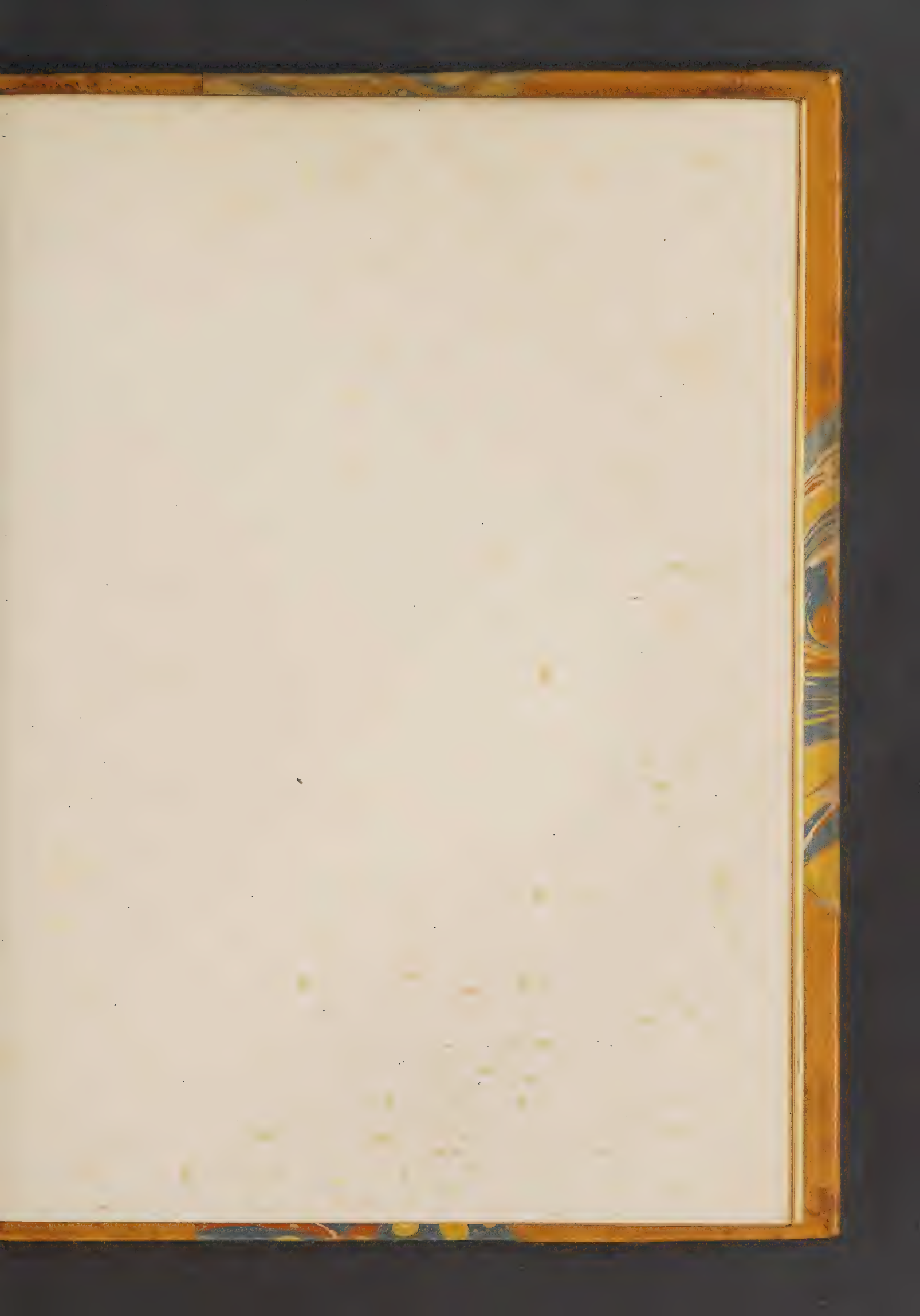


James Richardson Edg. 89 Queen St. Glasgow.

Miscellaneous Tracts.

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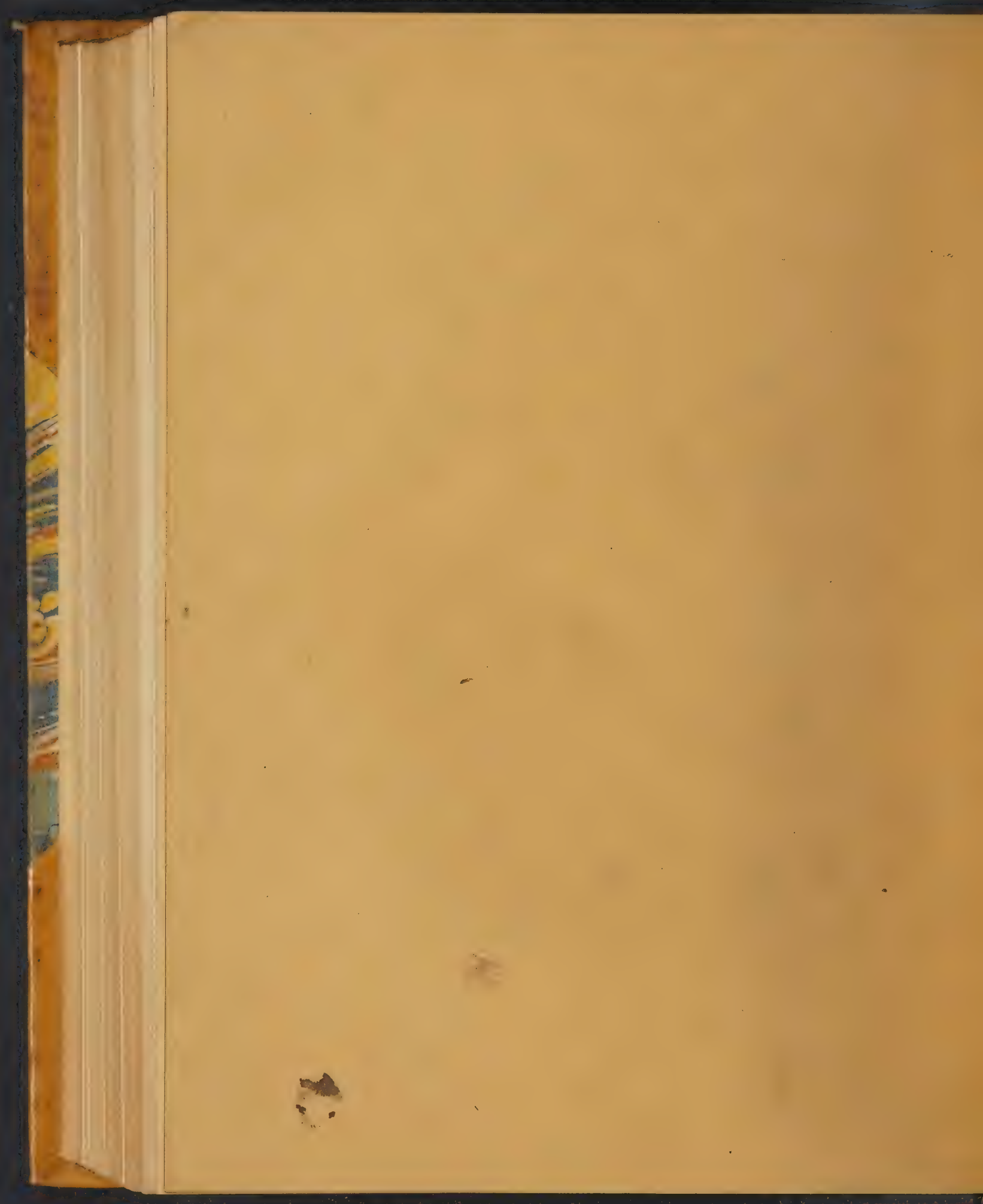






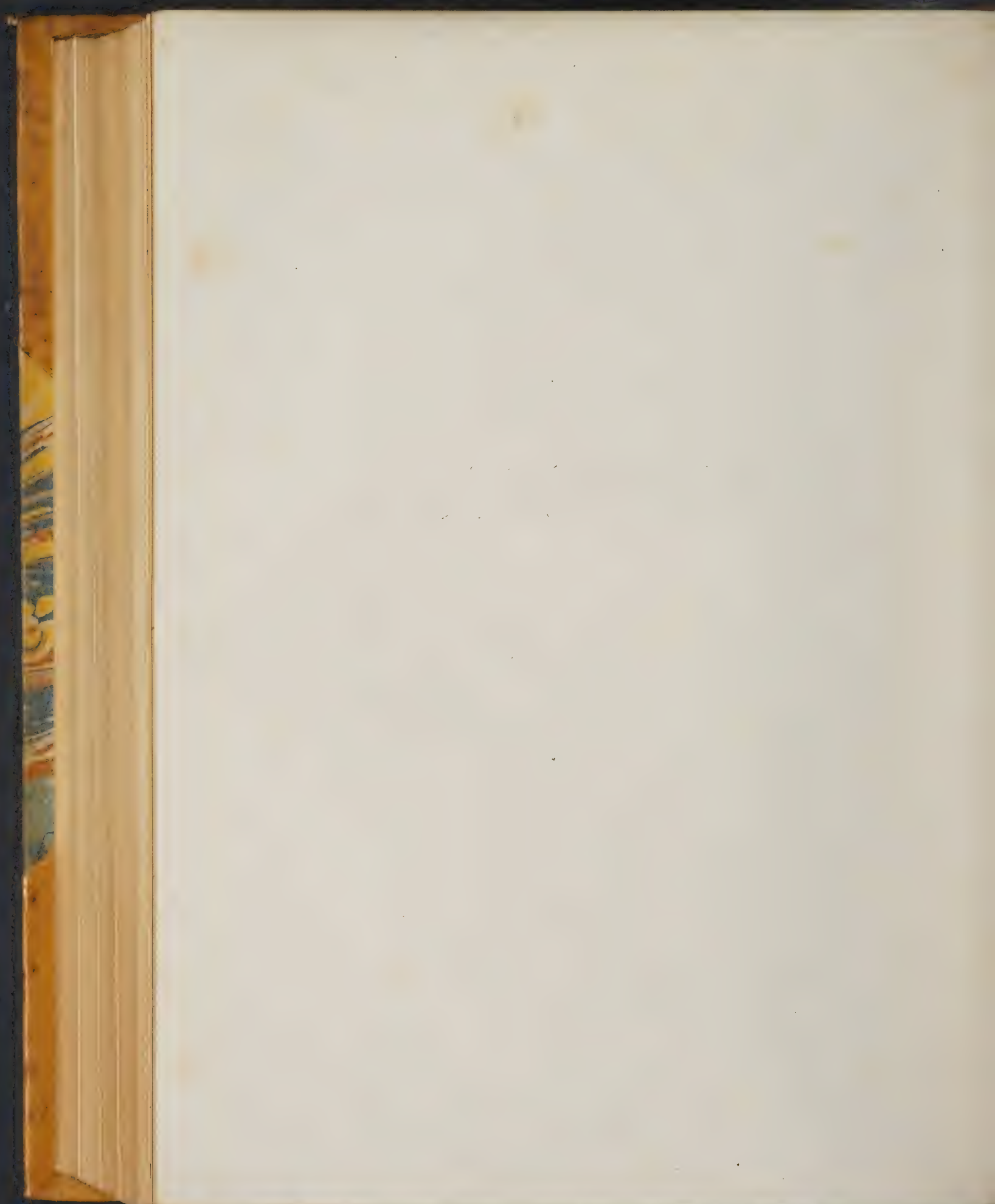
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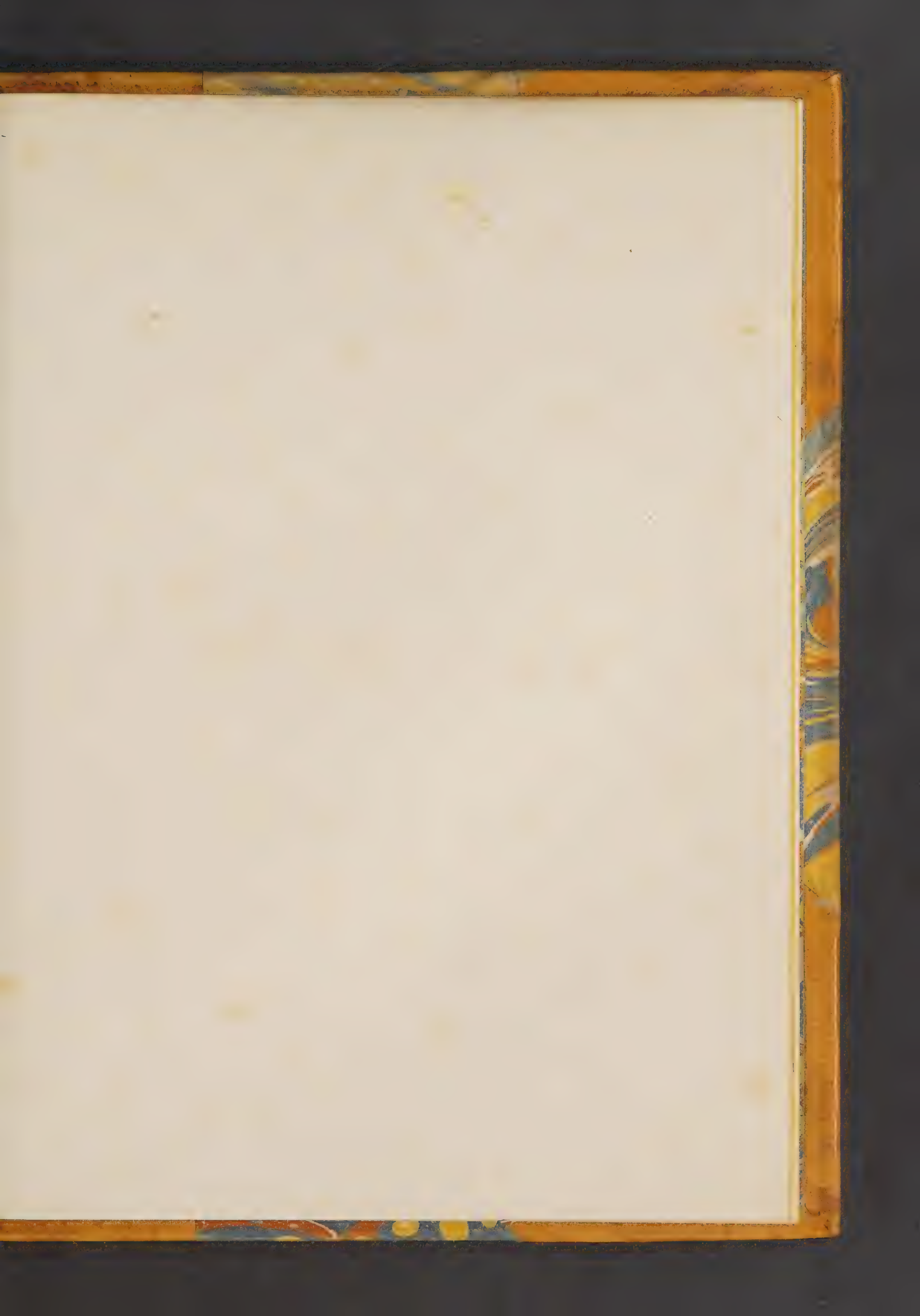
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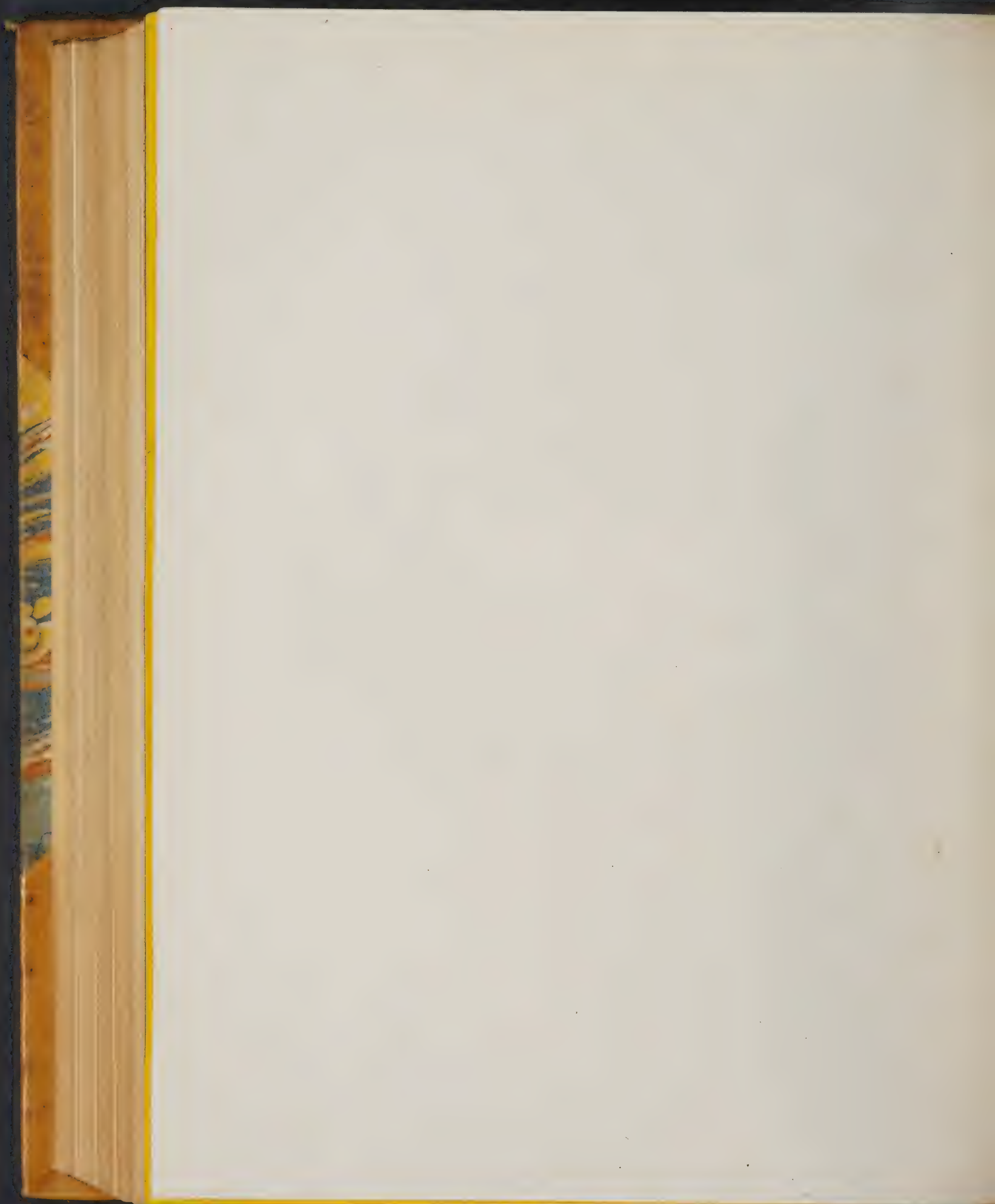


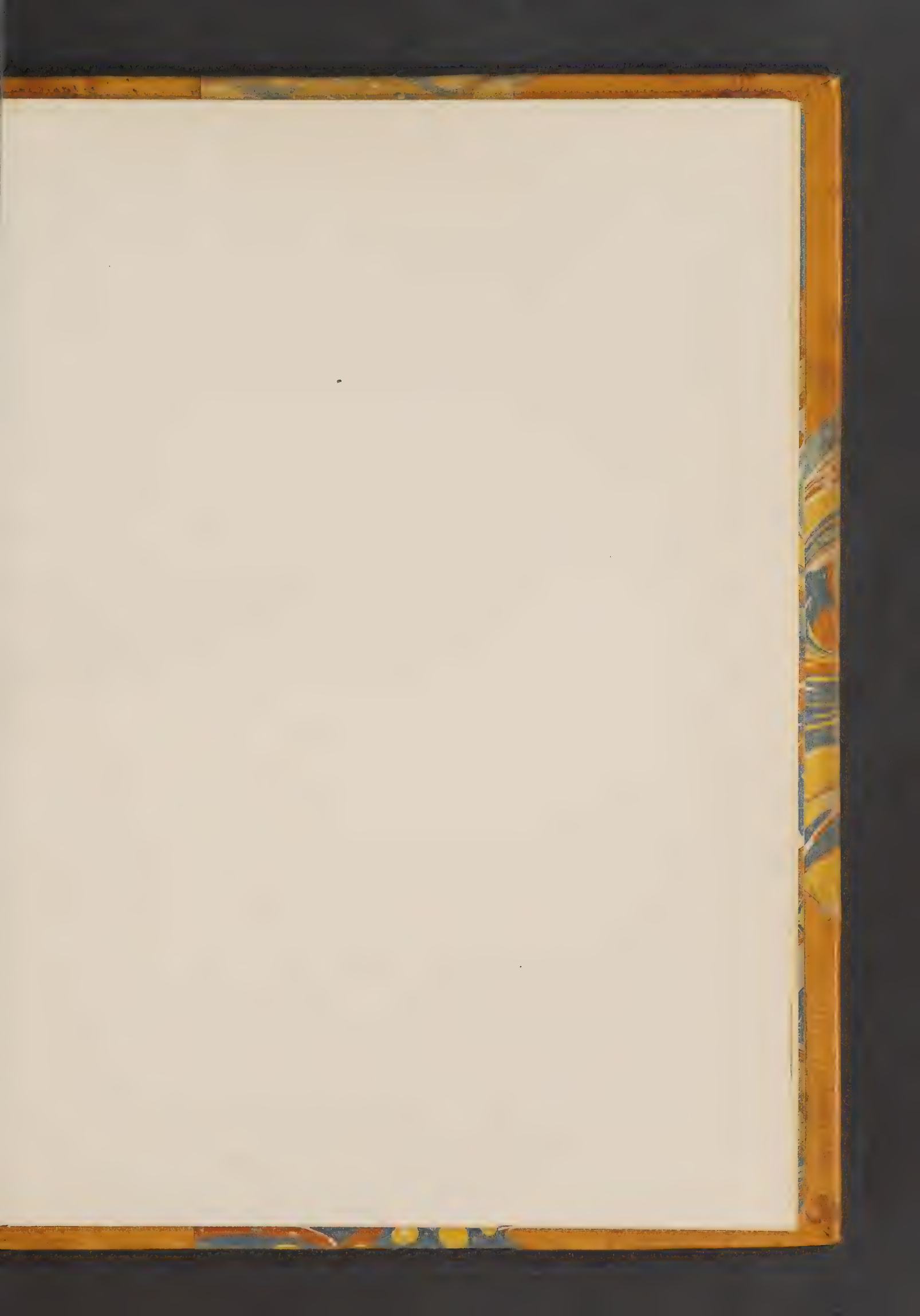




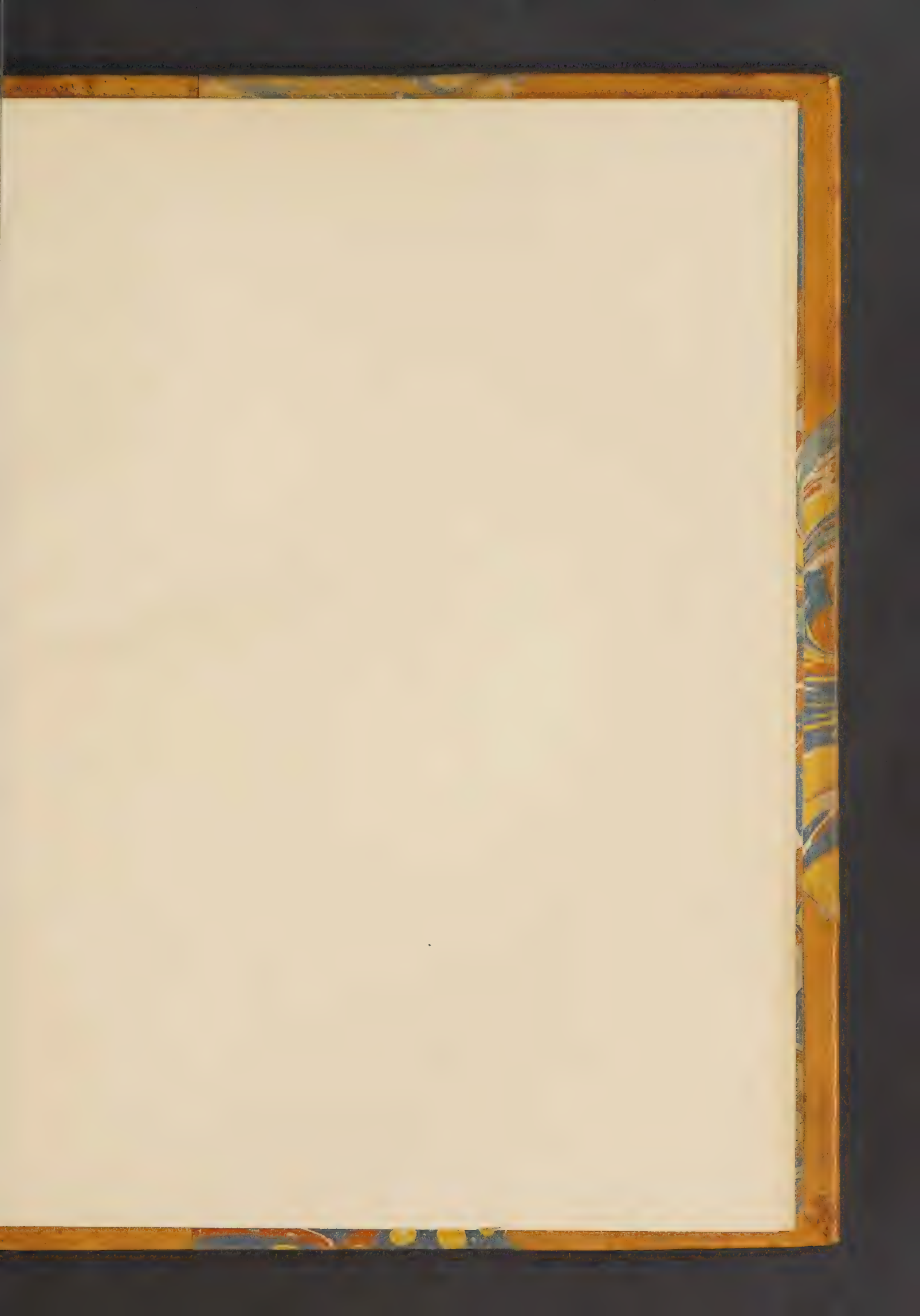
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